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HISTORY OF THE MISSOURI COUNTY COURT

BY WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW

Provisions for county government in Missouri today can be traced directly to the plan of local government which existed in England as early as the thirteenth century. The English county system was brought to this country by the colony of Virginia, and came to Missouri during the western movement principally through Kentucky. Later, local government in this State was modified somewhat by the introduction of certain features of the county-township government of Pennsylvania which had been carried westward through Ohio and Indiana. The systems of towns and township-county government, developed in Massachusetts and New York respectively, had practically no influence on local government in Missouri. The New York, township-supervisor type of county board was tried in 1872 and 1874 in some half dozen counties. It had been entirely abandoned by 1875.

A study of the general laws concerning county government in Missouri shows that administrative and supervisory functions have been at different times conferred upon a court composed of justices of the peace, a board of commissioners, court of common pleas, circuit court, and since 1827 upon a county court composed of three members. Similarly the civil, criminal, equity, and juvenile jurisdiction of the present circuit court has at various times been exercised by, or shared with, the court of quarter sessions, court of common pleas and probate court. Likewise, probate jurisdiction has by different laws been conferred upon the court of common pleas, circuit court and county court as well as probate court. In this article no effort will be made to enumerate or discuss the forerunners of the circuit court, except in so far as they are directly related to the development of the present county court. On the other hand, probate jurisdiction must necessarily be given considerable attention, for, prior to 1877, it was usually con-

ferred by general law upon the chief administrative body of the county.

The general laws contain all the important changes in the organization and functions of the county court and its predecessors from 1804 to 1845, and from 1877 to the present time. From 1845 to 1877 these matters were frequently determined by special and local laws. Often such a law applied to only one county. Generally its provisions were mandatory, though occasionally they were optional with the voters.

Special laws concerned a great variety of subjects, including the number, tenure and methods of electing county judges. It is particularly significant that in most counties the court was small, consisting of three judges as provided by the general law. Sometimes there was only one judge and occasionally there were five. In a few instances the court was larger, being composed of a representative (either a justice of the peace or a supervisor) from each township, but the large county board never got a real foothold in Missouri. The tenure of a county judge varied from three to six years in different counties. In some, the court was a continuous body; in others, all members retired at the same time. The judges were in some instances elected by the voters at large while at other times they were elected by districts.

The county court exercised probate jurisdiction as provided by general law in a majority of the counties until about 1870. In some counties probate matters were conferred upon a single judge who was also a member of the county court. The probate and county courts were entirely separated in all other counties. The establishment of separate probate courts was an outstanding tendency of the special laws; year by year the courts being separated in more and more counties.

Special legislation permitted the general assembly to enact laws to meet local needs. It gave opportunity for experimentation with different types of county boards where the laws were not changed too often. The encouragement of frequent changes was the worst defect of special legislation. It also allowed the legislature to meddle in local affairs for purely political reasons to aid one party or faction in a county at the expense of another. Perhaps an abundance of interesting and

valuable information could be unearthed by investigating and analyzing the underlying motives for the special laws of this period. Of course, no such analysis has been attempted in this article. Suffice it to say that the abuses of special legislation led the constitutional convention of 1875 to incorporate a provision in the new constitution prohibiting special legislation in local affairs. Pursuant to this provision, the legislature in 1877 provided by general law for a county court of three members and a separate probate court for all counties. Very few important changes have been made in the organization of county government since that time.

In addition to the general and special laws, the proceedings of the constitutional conventions of 1865, 1875, and 1922-1923 have been included in this article. In a sense these conventions represent milestones in the history of the Missouri county court. It is significant that most of the proposals and debates concerning administrative and probate matters were based directly upon some one or more special laws. The provisions concerning county and probate courts in the present constitution, as well as that of 1865, also reflect the previous experiences under such laws. It is interesting to note that the chief administrative and supervisory body of the Missouri county has generally been called "court" instead of board of commissioners or supervisors as in other states.

The foregoing summarizes briefly the history of the county court from 1804 to the present time. The following pages contain a more detailed analysis of the various changes in its organization and functions, emphasizing particularly the special laws enacted from 1845 to 1875. At first sight, the latter appear to be a perfect jungle of conflicting provisions—having no well-defined tendencies. Closer analysis, however, shows that this first impression is erroneous and that there is a central tendency, a definite continuity, in the development of the county court throughout this period.

In each of the five territorial districts (Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis) which were organized in the Upper Louisiana Purchase territory in 1804, justices of the peace composed the "General Court of Quarter Sessions". This court handled administrative func-

tions for the district, such as levying of taxes, letting of contracts, establishing roads, aiding the poor, and auditing claims—duties which now devolve upon the county court. In addition, the court of quarter sessions had civil, criminal and equity jurisdiction similar to the present circuit court. It was a survival of the system which had existed in England as early as the thirteenth century, having been transplanted to America through the colony of Virginia. This court of quarter sessions exercised administrative functions until the legislature in 1806 provided for a board of commissioners, following the example of Indiana to which the district of Louisiana had been attached from 1804 to 1805 when a separate Louisiana Territory was organized. At first this board consisted of three commissioners appointed for that particular purpose, but from 1808 to 1813 it was composed of ex-officio members, the district auditor as chairman and two district assessors as associate members. Under each of the above laws probate matters were vested in a separate probate judge. All of these officials were appointed by the governor, except the district assessors who were selected by the court of common pleas.¹

In 1812, the name of the territory was changed from Louisiana to Missouri and the five districts became counties. The following year, 1813, the probate court and board of commissioners were abolished, probate and administrative business being conferred upon the court of common pleas. This court was composed of three judges appointed by the governor of the territory for a term of four years. Two years later, in 1815, administrative and probate functions were transferred to a county court composed of the justices of the peace in the county. Under this law three justices were a quorum for the transaction of administrative business. The following year this court was abolished and its duties conferred upon the circuit court. This arrangement continued until 1820 when administrative and probate business were taken from the circuit court and vested in a new county court. The latter was

¹*Missouri Territorial Laws*, Vol. I, pp. 5-14, 34, 57, 69, and 226. Also see Loeb, Isidor, "Beginnings of Missouri Legislation" in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. I, 1907, pp. 53-71; and Fairlie, John A., and Kneier, Charles M., *County Government and Administration*, 1930, pp. 3-26 and 107-130.

composed of three members who were appointed by the governor for a term of four years. This was the situation when Missouri became a state.²

In 1825, two changes were made in the law of 1820. First, probate matters were again separated from administrative business and conferred on a probate judge appointed by the governor. Second, general administrative duties were for a third time vested in a court composed of justices of the peace. However, not all magistrates of a county were expected to serve on the county court. Provision was made for them to perform this duty in rotation, the court to be composed of at least three and not more than seven members. This system was abolished in 1827, administrative and probate functions again being vested in a county court composed of three members appointed by the governor, as in the law of 1820.³

The fact that the county judges were appointed by the governor requires further explanation. In harmony with other states,⁴ Missouri did not at the beginning adopt the elective principle for local officials, other than the sheriff and coroner. The governor appointed the justices of the peace who selected their own constables. The appointive county court usually selected the local administrative officials of the county. It was not until 1835 that the policy of appointing county judges was discarded in favor of the more democratic theory of popular election. The clerks of the county and circuit courts were also made elective at that time.⁵ Gradually, popular election rather than appointment became the general rule for local officials. This Jacksonian pioneer theory of democracy continues to be the prevailing policy in Missouri. However, the newly created county offices dealing with agricultural extension, health and welfare work are filled by appointment rather than election.

²*Missouri Territorial Laws*, Vol. I, pp. 272, 273, 345, 444, 449, 682, and 684.

³*Revised Statutes, Mo.*, 1825, pp. 268-271 and *Mo. Ter. Laws*, Vol. II, p. 125. This volume, although called territorial laws, contains the early state laws of Missouri.

⁴Fairlie and Kneier, pp. 23-28.

⁵*Constitution, Mo.*, 1820, IV, 23-25 and *R. S. Mo.*, 1835, pp. 111 and 153-155.

Two other changes in the general provisions for the county court should be mentioned. In 1855, the tenure of county judges was increased from four to six years, provision being made for one judge to retire biennially. Ten years later, in 1865, the county court was given discretionary authority to divide the county into three districts, with one judge to be elected from each district.⁶

The foregoing were the only changes made in the general law for the organization of the county court from 1804 to 1877, when the present system of county and probate courts was adopted.⁷ During this period, however, a large number of local and special laws were enacted. These were frequently three or four times as voluminous as the general ones. For example, the state legislature in 1862-1863 enacted a total of two hundred and eight pages of special laws and only fifty pages of general ones. From 1857 to 1865, two or three hundred local and special laws concerning counties were passed at each session of the general assembly. These laws covered a number of subjects, including establishment of new counties; change of boundaries; location and removal of county seats; county funds, tax rates, and indebtedness, especially for aiding railroad construction; and the organization of county government. At present, only those laws which affected the organization and functions of the county court will be considered.

Although Missouri had three times adopted and abandoned the justice of the peace system of an administrative board, it was destined to appear again under special laws. From 1847 to 1851 provision was made for this system in nine different counties. In four of them, Dallas, Dunklin, Hickory and Ozark, the law was mandatory; in the other five, Knox, Mercer, Ripley, Schuyler, and Shannon, the provision was optional with the voters. As in the previous cases, this system was discarded for the county court of three members within a few years.⁸

⁶*R. S. Mo.*, 1855, pp. 530-534 and 1865, p. 555.

⁷*Laws, Mo.*, 1877, pp. 226 and 229.

⁸*Ibid.*, 1846-47, pp. 42, 45, and 48; 1848-49, pp. 400, 403, 404, and 407; 1850-51, pp. 509-514 and 571; 1852-53, p. 377; and 1854-55, p. 500; and Rogers, W. B., *Souvenir History of Mercer County*, pp. 67-68.

A good criticism of the justices of the peace as a county board during this period is found in Goodspeed's "History of Schuyler County".⁹ The author says, "This form of government soon became unpopular, as it should be, for the reason that three competent men can dispatch the people's business much more rapidly and at much less expense, than a crowd of a dozen men can. . . . A body large enough for a Legislature is certainly an unnecessary and unwieldy thing as a county court." According to this writer, there would be a large court in the morning, which would dwindle during the day, the justices retiring "one by one for something to quench their thirst", until only three or four men remained to handle the county's business.

Similar to the above system was a provision that township trustees should compose the county court in those counties adopting the optional form of township government provided for in 1872. Here the state legislature copied the "township-county" or "supervisor" type of county board which first appeared in the colony of New York in 1691, and still exists in six north-central states. Histories of Missouri counties show that this plan was adopted in 1872 in some half dozen of them. The following year, 1873, the law was amended so that the county court would be composed of five members, four of whom were elected from districts and one from the county at large. This provision gave no recognition to townships as units for representation on the county court. To the counties that adopted township organization should be added Buchanan and Jasper, which by a special law of 1873, also had county courts of five members.¹⁰

Adair, which perhaps suffered more from special legislation than any other county, was allowed to continue for only one year under the law of 1873. A special law of 1874 provided

⁹Goodspeed's *History of Adair, Sultean, Putnam and Schuyler Counties*, p. 667.

¹⁰*Laws, Mo.*, 1871-72, pp. 180 and 206; 1873, pp. 94, 116 and 155; Violette, E. M., *History of Adair County*, p. 41; Turner, S. K. and Clark, S. A., *History of Carroll County*, p. 332; Birdsall and Dean, *History of Daviess County*, p. 356; National History Company, *History of Henry and St. Clair Counties*, p. 940; Birdsall and Dean, *History of Linn County*, p. 255; Fairlie and Kneier, p. 20; and Porter, pp. 61-62.

that its county court should be composed of a "Judge of the County Court" as president and the township trustees as associate members.¹¹ Hence, in 1875, the township was a unit for representation on the county court in Adair county. Apparently, a similar system did not exist in any other county.

It is interesting to note that while some counties were experimenting with a relatively large court, others were trying a single county judge. The latter movement began in 1855 with the establishment of a district county court for the counties of Butler, Dunklin and Stoddard. The next year two more counties, Ripley and Wayne, were added to the district. The district judge travelled from county to county to hold court in much the same manner as a circuit judge today, except that his court had administrative and probate functions instead of civil and criminal jurisdiction. The district court lasted only two years, the law being repealed in 1857 for four of the five counties, leaving only one county, Stoddard, in the district. During the next two decades a one-man county court was created by law for at least thirty counties, the jurisdiction of the judge being confined in each case to only one county. The system existed in twenty-six of the one hundred and fourteen counties when the present constitution was adopted in 1875.¹²

A study of the special laws shows that the election of county judges by districts was provided for in at least a dozen counties before 1865. Since the special provision had been repealed for only one county, election by districts was undoubtedly considered more satisfactory than electing the judges at large. This may explain the extension of the optional districting plan to all counties in 1865.¹³

From 1827 to 1877, no important changes were made in the provisions concerning roads, poor relief or financial ad-

¹¹*Laws, Mo.*, 1874, p. 259.

¹²Birdsall and Dean, *History of Daviess County*, p. 356; Goodspeed's *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford and Gasconade Counties*, p. 400; Napton, W. B., *History of Saline County*, p. 264; and *Laws, Mo.*, 1854-55, p. 474; 1855-56, p. 73; 1857, p. 263; 1860-61, p. 486; 1865-66, p. 239; 1867, p. 109; 1870, p. 221; 1871-72, p. 281; 1873, p. 154; 1874, pp. 263-278; and 1875, pp. 365-435.

¹³*R. S. Mo.*, 1865, p. 555, and *Laws, Mo.*, 1850-51, p. 196; 1852-53, p. 376; 1854-55, p. 441; 1855-56, pp. 33, 46, and 47; and 1856-57, p. 213.

ministration, except that road matters and assessment and collection of taxes became a township function in those counties adopting township government. The chief question during this interval was whether probate functions should be handled by the county court as provided by the general laws or vested in a separate probate court. During the thirty years from 1845 to 1875 more than two hundred special laws concerning probate matters were enacted. Since this problem received special consideration in the constitutional conventions of 1865 and 1875, these laws are divided into two groups. The first includes those passed before the convention of 1865; the second, those enacted between 1865 and 1875 when special legislation was definitely prohibited by the state constitution.

The movement to establish separate probate courts began in 1845 with special laws for Dade, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis counties. The next two sessions of the general assembly enacted similar provisions for thirty-four other counties. After 1849, the policy of establishing separate probate courts continued, but at a slower rate. A counter-policy of repealing some of the provisions partially offset the gain made by the establishment of separate ones in other counties. A total of sixty-three of the one hundred and fourteen counties were given authority to establish separate probate courts between 1845 and 1865. For fifty-two of these counties, the provision was mandatory, while in eleven it was optional with the voters. During the same period the provisions were repealed for twenty-two of the sixty-three counties, and later re-enacted in four of them. Thus forty-five of the one hundred and fourteen counties had provisions for separate probate courts by special laws. In the other sixty-nine counties probate business was, by general law, vested in the county court.¹⁴

It is significant that in twenty of the sixty-three counties establishing separate probate courts, the new court had, in addition to probate jurisdiction, concurrent equity jurisdic-

¹⁴*Laws, Mo.*, 1844-45, pp. 57-62 and 70; 1846-47, pp. 27-45; 1848-49, pp. 400-439, 445, 446 and 449; 1850-51, pp. 507-534; 1852-53, pp. 390-401; 1854-55, pp. 478, and 488-501; 1855-56, pp. 56-57 and 71-89; 1856-57, p. 411; 1858-59, pp. 295, 376, 381, and 406; 1859-60, pp. 25, 30, 32, 41 and 479; 1860-61, pp. 479-513; 1862-63, pp. 162 and 163; 1863-64, pp. 304 and 305; and 1864-65, pp. 334 and 349-351.

tion with the circuit court. In four other counties, Greene, Marion, Mississippi and Newton, the probate court was combined with a court of common pleas. Three of the former and one of the latter provisions were repealed before 1865, leaving twenty-one of the forty-five probate courts with either equity or common pleas jurisdiction.

The probate judge under all of these special laws was elected by the qualified voters of the county. In the earlier laws his tenure varied from one to six years, but in 1865 four years was the usual term. The court was composed of only one judge, except in Dunklin county which, from 1860 to 1866, had three judges.¹⁵ Due to conflicts, errors, and optional provisions in special laws, the foregoing figures may not be absolutely accurate. However, they show a definite tendency to differentiate administrative and probate functions. Such was the situation in 1865 when the second constitution of Missouri was framed and adopted.

The journal of the constitutional convention of 1865 shows that various proposals were considered by that body. The committee on the judiciary proposed separate county and probate courts for all counties. The provision for a county court was adopted by a large majority, but the delegates were more evenly divided on the question of a separate probate court. An effort to combine the probate court with a court of common pleas was defeated. A provision to give the probate judge civil and criminal jurisdiction in minor cases was considered at length, referred to the committee on the judiciary, and later rejected. Two efforts to make the probate judge ex-officio president of the county court were likewise rejected. The convention also defeated a proposal to establish a probate court in each senatorial district. Finally, the convention vested probate matters in the county court or such inferior courts as the legislature might establish. Hence, the convention, while recognizing and giving constitutional sanction to the establishment of separate courts, left the solution of the problem in the hands of the legislature.¹⁶

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 1859-60, p. 30; 1860-61, p. 513; and 1865-66, p. 234.

¹⁶*Journal of the Missouri State Convention of 1865*, pp. 136, 167, 168, 169, and 247, and *Constitution, Mo.*, 1865, VI, 23.

In spite of a section intended to prevent special legislation, local laws became even more numerous under the new constitution. To the forty-five counties with separate probate courts in 1865, thirty-four were added during the next decade, but the provisions were amended or repealed for thirteen of them. Hence a total of sixty-six of the one hundred and fourteen counties had provisions for separate probate courts in 1875.¹⁷

The earlier practice of combining the probate with trial courts had been largely abandoned by this time, only four courts of common pleas retaining probate jurisdiction. A policy of relieving the associate county judges of probate duties and vesting this function in the presiding judge of the county court (or making the probate judge ex-officio president of the county court) was provided for in forty-five different counties. The law was repealed or amended for eleven of them and was in conflict with other provisions for three counties, leaving thirty-one in this group in 1875.¹⁸ Schuyler county had a single judge for both administrative and probate functions from 1861 to 1866, and Adair from 1867 to 1870. From 1872 to 1875 similar provisions were enacted for seventeen counties, but soon repealed for two of them. Therefore, a one-man court having both administrative and probate jurisdiction was authorized for fifteen counties in 1875.¹⁹

In spite of inaccuracies and optional provisions in the special laws, this indicates the general situation when the constitutional convention of 1875 was assembled. At that time separate probate courts were provided for in sixty-six of the one hundred and fourteen counties. The offices of probate judge and president of the county court were combined in some thirty counties. Probate and county matters were vested

¹⁷*Constitution, Mo.*, 1865, IV, 27 and *Laws, Mo.*, 1865-66, pp. 234, 237, and 239; 1867, pp. 95, 101, and 109-111; 1868, pp. 254, 272, and 274; 1869, pp. 167, 170, 180, 191, and 193; 1870, pp. 209-230; 1871, pp. 105, 113, 116, 121, 124, and 129; 1871-72, pp. 269, 284, 289, 294, and 295; 1873, pp. 148-194; 1874, pp. 244, 251, 253, 259, and 280; and 1875, pp. 361, 365, 397, and 436.

¹⁸*Laws, Mo.*, 1865-66, p. 82; 1867, pp. 95 and 110; 1868, pp. 272 and 277; 1869, pp. 165 and 193; 1870, pp. 225 and 229; 1871, p. 127; 1871-72, p. 280; 1874, pp. 259 and 279; and 1875, p. 436.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 1860-61, p. 485; 1865-66, p. 239; 1867, p. 109; 1870, p. 221; 1871-72, p. 281; 1873, p. 154; 1874, pp. 259 and 264-278; and 1875, pp. 365, 372, and 374.

in a single judge or the regular county court of three members in all other counties. Disregarding probate functions, the county court was composed of three judges in at least two-thirds of the one hundred and fourteen counties. A single judge was authorized for twenty-six of them and perhaps a dozen (principally those adopting township organization) had county courts with five members.

This leads to the constitutional convention of 1875 in which provisions embodying each of the foregoing types of county boards were considered. The committee on the judiciary favored a county court of three members with a provision authorizing the legislature to establish separate probate courts. A minority of this committee proposed a single judge for probate business who would be ex-officio president of the county court. The majority report was amended several times and finally rejected by a vote of twenty-five to twenty-four. The matter was then referred to a special committee which recommended that the probate judge be made ex-officio president of the county court in counties of less than thirty-five thousand population. Apparently, this suggestion was accepted, but later rejected by the convention. Several similar plans came before the convention, and were likewise defeated. As is usually true of a deliberative body, the question was finally settled by compromise. The convention provided for a separate probate court with one judge, and a county court of one to three judges, of whom the probate judge might be one, as provided by law. This solution must have satisfied all factions for it was adopted on final passage by a vote of fifty-four to one.²⁰

A comparison of the two constitutions shows that the convention of 1875 went a little farther than that of 1865 by actually providing for separate county and probate courts. However, this was not important for both constitutions left to the state legislature the question of partially or completely separating administrative and probate functions.²¹

²⁰*Journal, Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, Vol. I, pp. 223, 300, 337-339, 451-455, and 484-485; Vol. II, pp. 544-547, 614, and 800-809.

²¹*Constitution, Mo.*, 1865, VI, 23 and 1875, VI, 34-36.

Two years after the adoption of the constitution of 1875, the legislature provided by general laws for the organization of separate county and probate courts for all counties of the state. Probate functions were vested in a judge elected by the voters of the county for a term of four years. Administrative functions were vested in a county court of three members. The presiding judge was elected from the county at large for a term of four years, and the two associate justices from districts for two years. The organization of the county and probate courts has not been changed since 1877, except that since 1883 the law, as well as the state constitution, has provided that the probate judge may be a member of the county court.²² This law was enacted to permit the voters to elect the same man both as probate and county judge. However, this has rarely, if ever, been done—and no probate judge has been a member of the county court in recent years.

Probate jurisdiction has been discussed at length not because it was the most important function of the county court from 1845 to 1877, but because it received so much attention from the state legislature and the constitutional conventions. The administrative functions of the county court and its predecessors have been changed very little from 1804 to the present time.

The county court has always represented the county in its corporate capacity, having the power to sue and be sued, to purchase or otherwise secure county property and to dispose of the same, and to let contracts for the erection of public buildings such as a courthouse, jail or county home, and for other county purposes.²³ The court has been the chief financial agent of the county. It has levied taxes for county purposes, appropriated county funds as authorized by law, audited and allowed claims against the county, and made periodic financial settlements with various county officials.²⁴ Since 1875, however, the state constitution has limited the

²²*Laws, Mo.*, 1877, pp. 226 and 229, and 1883, p. 74.

²³*R. S. Mo.*, 1919, Secs. 2574 and 9505. Only a few of the more important statutory provisions are cited here. Any statement concerning the powers of the county court can be verified by consulting the Revised Statutes.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 2574, 9560 and 12863-12866.

tax rate for county purposes and also the borrowing power of the county.²⁵ To explain the reasons for the adoption of these restrictions would require an analysis of county investments in railroad securities during the era of railroad speculation in Missouri,—a task that has not been attempted in this article.

The county court has always exercised general supervision over various county officers, approving their official bonds, furnishing each an office and the necessary equipment. It has also supervised the administration of such functions as charities and health; the conduct of elections; the maintenance of roads and bridges, except in counties adopting township organization;²⁶ and numerous miscellaneous matters. Suffice it to say, that these have been the principal duties of the county court since it lost probate jurisdiction, indicating that it is primarily an administrative rather than a judicial body.

Since 1877, the name "board of commissioners" or "board of supervisors" would have been more appropriate than "county court" for the chief administrative body of the county. But apparently there was no desire or agitation to change the name at that time. Probably the transition from a court exercising important judicial functions to one whose principal duties were administrative in nature came about so gradually that contemporaries did not realize what was happening. Moreover, it is not likely that many people distinguished between administrative and judicial functions until a later date. At any rate, the framers of the constitution of 1875 did not change its title, though they adopted a provision which relieved the county court in all counties of its most important judicial function, *viz.*, probate jurisdiction. It is also significant that the constitution of 1875 provides for the county court in the article on the Judicial Department instead of the one on Counties, Cities and Towns²⁷ where it logically belongs. It is in the latter article that a person unfamiliar with the history of county government in Missouri would

²⁵*Constitution, Mo.*, 1875, IX, 6 and 13, and X, 11, 12 and 22.

²⁶At present, 24 of 114 counties have township organization. See *Official Manual, Mo.*, 1920-1930, pp. 198-203, and *R. S. Mo.*, 1919, Sec. 10912 ff.

²⁷See Article IX of *Constitution, Mo.*, 1875.

expect to find the provisions concerning the chief administrative and supervisory body of the county.

It is a mistake, however, to assume that the county court is purely an administrative body,²⁸ for it still possesses a few minor judicial and quasi judicial powers and privileges. The petit jurors and sometimes grand jurors for the circuit court or other court with civil or criminal jurisdiction in the county, are drawn by the county court. Exceptions to this rule have been made by creating a jury commission for a few of the larger counties. The county court determines insanity cases of indigent persons who must be supported at public expense if confined in a state institution. Being a constitutional court of record, the county court, or a county judge in vacation, may issue, hear and determine a writ of habeas corpus; the court or any two of its members may grant an injunction, provided in either instance there is no circuit judge in the county and no other court has obtained jurisdiction of the case. The county court or any one of the county judges has authority to punish a person for contempt of court. Also under certain conditions a county court may act in a particular case for the probate court.²⁹

The judicial functions of the county court are relatively unimportant when contrasted with those of the circuit court. The latter has common law jurisdiction in any civil, criminal or equity case. The circuit court sits quarterly in each county composing the circuit. This makes the circuit court, and not the county court, the real judicial tribunal for a Missouri county.³⁰ The state constitution and statutes also give the circuit court a superintending control over the county court as well as other inferior tribunals of the county.³¹

The county court being primarily an administrative body should be relieved by law of its present judicial functions. The duty of drawing jurors ought to be transferred to the clerk of the circuit court, or a jury commission of which he

²⁸Fairlie and Kneier, p. 132, footnote No. 2.

²⁹R. S. Mo., 1919, Secs. 1877, 1944, 1948, 2323, 2359-2364, 2549, 6006-6736, and 12286-12290.

³⁰Ibid., Secs. 2435-2540.

³¹Ibid., Secs. 2436, 2575, 2584, 2589, 2590, 9508, 12860 and 12861; *Constitution, Mo.*, 1875, VI, 23; and cases cited under these sections.

would be chairman. The probate court should be given authority to determine the insanity of an indigent person, as well as one having property. The power to issue a writ of habeas corpus or an injunction ought to be vested exclusively in the circuit court or other court with common law and equity jurisdiction. Otherwise the present relations between the county court and the circuit and probate courts need not be changed. Likewise, the county court might well retain the authority to punish for contempt.

Although largely rejected by the voters of Missouri, the work of the constitutional convention of 1922-1923 should be included in this study. Four of the thirty-five proposals which were referred to the committee on the judiciary, one of the fifteen standing committees, were intended to combine administrative and probate business. One proposal vested these functions in a single county judge; the others combined the offices of probate judge and president of the county court. Three of these, as well as several other proposals would have conferred civil, criminal, equity and juvenile jurisdiction upon the probate court.²²

The idea of enlarging the work of the probate judge so that each county would have a real court with general jurisdiction was favorably received by the committee on the judiciary. This committee proposed to establish "a county court" in each county for probate, juvenile, and minor civil and criminal cases, including preliminary examinations. The new court would have combined the functions now exercised by the probate court and justices of the peace. The latter office, it was hoped, would soon be abolished. The new county court would have relieved the circuit court of juvenile work and some of its civil and criminal cases. The convention debated this feature of the committee report for several days, but it was finally defeated. Later, an effort to add juvenile and minor civil and criminal jurisdiction to the present probate court was likewise defeated.²³

²²*Proposals of the Constitutional Convention of Missouri, 1922-1923*, Nos. 25, 41, 46, 71, 79, 98, 228, 271, and 294.

²³*Journal and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Missouri, 1922-1923*, File No. 3, Sections 14 and 32. The proposed county court was discussed

Having used the term "county court" for the proposed judicial tribunal, it was necessary for the committee on the judiciary to suggest another name for the old county court, the chief administrative and supervisory body of the county. For this reason, the committee proposed to establish a county board of three commissioners for each county. However, when the plan for a new county court was defeated, the convention decided to retain the old name "county court" for the administrative board. Other than the administration of justice, the present organization of county government was given slight consideration by the convention of 1922-1923. The proposed county board of commissioners received little more than incidental mention during the debate on the proposed county court.

Later, the convention omitted the provisions for justices of the peace, county courts, and probate courts from the article on the judiciary. This would have made the inferior courts legislative rather than constitutional bodies, thus permitting the general assembly to accomplish by law the positive program which had been rejected by the convention. This amendment was defeated by the voters.³⁴

So the county court continues to be a constitutional court of record. Its name is misleading, for the average person thinks of a court as a judicial tribunal rather than an administrative and supervisory body. It is probable that many of the cases involving the nature of its functions, whether administrative or judicial, would not have arisen had it been called "county board of commissioners" or "county board of supervisors" as in other states.³⁵

for several days as follows: 63 to 70, 94, 95, and 174 to 182. For the vote on the committee report and various amendments, see 182nd day, pp. 82 and 83; 183rd day, pp. 58, 62 and 65; 209th day, p. 91; 210th day, p. 50; 211th day, pp. 17-29; 213th day, pp. 101 and 104; and 214th day, p. 51.

³⁴*Ibid.*, "Address to the People" p. 36, Amendment 7, Sec. 29, and *Official Manual, Mo.*, 1925-26, pp. 425-438.

³⁵Fairlie and Kneier, pp. 107-130, and Porter, Kirk H., *County and Township Government in the United States*, 1922, pp. 58-72 and 114-135, discuss the organization and functions of county boards in general.

JOSEPH PULITZER

EARLY LIFE IN ST. LOUIS AND HIS FOUNDING AND CONDUCT OF
THE POST-DISPATCH UP TO 1883

BY GEORGE S. JOHNS

SECOND ARTICLE

PULITZER ENTERS POLITICS

Joseph Pulitzer's progress inside the *Westliche Post's* office was no less amazing than his subsequent rapid successes. In a short time he completely dominated the newspaper. His vigorous mind, nervous energy and capacity for work were irresistible. His industry for news was supplemented with his passion for politics, and he soon grasped all the comprehensive functions of a newspaper—news, politics, and the reflecting and molding of public opinion. The absorption of Schurz in politics, and the illness of Dr. Preetorius gave his talents and energies a wide field, which he completely filled. His acquaintance was greatly enlarged and his influence expanded. He was soon looked upon as a leader. He soon knew quite thoroughly the leaders in politics, local, State and national. He knew their records and the records of their parties. He became a force in Missouri politics, and within a very short time a force in national politics.

His passion for politics was admitted in a letter to Dr. G. W. Hosmer, for many years one of his secretaries and most valued companion. When Dr. Hosmer suggested writing a sketch of his life, Mr. Pulitzer wrote:

I hate the idea of passing away known only as the proprietor of the paper. Not property but politics was my passion, and not politics even in general, selfish sense, but politics in the sense of liberty and freedom and ideals of justice.

During the sessions of the State Legislature he was the correspondent of the *Westliche Post* at the capital, Jefferson City. Louis Benecke of Brunswick, Missouri, then chairman of the State Senate Committee on Banks and Banking, ap-

pointed Mr. Pulitzer his clerk, so that he had an inside view of affairs at the State capitol and got in close touch with the management of the Republican party. He learned all about legislative and lobby methods, and he used this knowledge to good effect later as a member of the Legislature.

Mr. Pulitzer soon had a chance to enter active political life. There was a vacancy in the Fifth Representative District. The place had been filled by John H. Terry, a Democrat, who resigned, and a special election was necessary. At that time Joseph Pulitzer was affiliated with the Republican party, which the German element solidly supported as the savior of the Union, led by Lincoln. The *Westliche Post* was Republican. Pulitzer himself was a delegate to the Republican convention to choose a candidate for the district.

It seemed a hopeless race for a Republican in a Democratic district, and no one wanted the nomination. While the delegates were trying to find a candidate, Mr. Pulitzer temporarily left the convention hall, and during his absence he was nominated. The nomination was taken as a joke, and he tried to decline it, but finally undertook the race. He made a furious campaign, with all the fire and spirit of which he was capable. He spoke day and night to his constituents. He personally canvassed the voters and aroused deep interest in the contest. On the morning of the election, December 21, 1869, the *Missouri Democrat*, which was Republican in politics, said of him:

Mr. Pulitzer is neither an old resident, a great man, nor a rich man. He is young and has lived here only since his return from service in the army. But he is a young man of thorough honesty, whose business it has been, as local editor, to understand the workings of our city government, and he has a fine education and natural ability.

Before he was twenty-two he had made his mark in the community. He had made a reputation for ability and honesty. Despite the fact that he was under legal age for membership in the State House of Representatives, which had been overlooked in his nomination and during the campaign, he was elected in a Democratic district over his Democratic opponent, by a vote of 209 to 147, and given a seat in the Legislature.

The first session of the Legislature which Mr. Pulitzer, as a representative, attended, opened at Jefferson City on January 5, 1870. He was in a difficult position, serving as a member of the House and correspondent of the *Westliche Post*. Everything he stood for or against in the Legislature he vigorously supported or fought in his newspaper. In a day of graft and corruption in the government of St. Louis and St. Louis county, he fought against graft and corruption and for honest government, with voice and pen.

The State capitol swarmed with adventurers having grafting schemes to put over, and with lobbyists serving grafters and greedy special interests of all kinds. Naturally, the man who on the floor and in his newspaper fought their projects, who exposed and attacked not only their objects and methods but the weakness and corruption of some of his fellow members, aroused bitter hostility.

St. Louis then had a dual government. It had a mayor and city council elected by the whole community, and a county court, elected by part of the community. The county court, however, had large powers affecting the welfare of the whole community. It named directors of three railroads—Missouri Pacific, Iron Mountain and North Missouri—until they were sold under foreclosure; it appointed county officials, and controlled the poorhouse and insane asylum. There was no check on these officials. The county treasurer handled the funds as he pleased, taking the interest on the money. One member supplied great quantities of materials for a new county poorhouse, and as chairman of the committee in charge of the work, approved his own bills.

SHOOTING SCRAPE IN JEFFERSON CITY

In short, the county was ruled by a corrupt ring. Mr. Pulitzer had attacked the ring as a reporter, and now with his usual fiery zeal he attacked it as a representative and newspaper correspondent. He introduced a bill to abolish the county court. This was the beginning of a long fight, which he subsequently won, but the beginning brought him into immediate trouble. The ring grafters had begun the con-

struction of a new insane asylum. The old buildings had been sold for several thousand dollars, with an expenditure of \$1,000,000 in sight to be spent on the new building.

The contract had been awarded to Capt. Edward Augustine, supervisor of registration for St. Louis county, a member of the ring. Supporting his bill in the *Westliche Post*, Mr. Pulitzer attacked Augustine, with several notorious lobbyists who were trying to kill the bill. Augustine, who was a big, powerful man, overwhelmingly heavier and stronger than the young and slender Pulitzer, confided to Theodore Welke that he intended to insult Pulitzer publicly and force him to drop his support of the obnoxious bill. The story of the insult and the shooting affray which subsequently occurred was fully told in the newspaper dispatches from Jefferson City. Wallace Gruelle, under the head, "Pulitzer as a Shootist," wrote for the St. Louis *Dispatch*:

Jefferson City, Jan. 27, 1870.—Tonight about half past seven o'clock, Mr. Pulitzer shot at and wounded Mr. Augustine in the office of the Schmidt Hotel. It appears that Mr. Pulitzer—and, by the way, I am on Pulitzer's side, not because he is a newspaper man, but he is a clever, affable gentleman, whose portrait I intend to paint some day, and he voted right on the Richland County bill—had sent an article to the *Westliche Post*, at which Mr. Augustine took offense, and mildly told Mr. Pulitzer that he was a liar. Mr. Pulitzer cautioned Mr. Augustine against using such strong language. Mr. Pulitzer left the hotel and got a pistol and returned and went for Mr. Augustine. Had not his pistol been knocked down, Missouri would have been in mourning today for a slaughtered loyal son. As it was, only two shots were fired, one of which took effect in Augustine's leg. Augustine struck Pulitzer on the head with a Derringer or some other kind of pistol, cutting his scalp and ending the battle. Mr. Pulitzer was arrested and gave bond for his appearance before the City Magistrate of Jefferson City.

A day later the version in the *Missouri Democrat* was as follows:

Jefferson City, Jan. 27, 1870.—Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, a member of the Legislature from St. Louis, shot Capt. Edward Augustine of St. Louis this evening at 7 o'clock. A dispute had arisen between them relative to statement in the *Westliche Post*, of this date, to the effect that Augustine was here in the interest of the County Court. Augustine pronounced this statement a lie, and the man that made it a liar. The parties were in the office of Schmidt's Hotel, where there were many other persons.

Pulitzer left the room in haste and was gone 10 or 15 minutes, it is said to go to his room which is on High street, it is supposed, to get his pistol. On returning he again approached Augustine and commenced anew his conversation in an insulting manner. Augustine called him a puppy, when Pulitzer called him a liar. Augustine started toward him, when Pulitzer drew his pistol, aiming at his breast, but Augustine seized his arm and that directed the shot downward, which took effect in the right leg below the knee. A second shot struck the floor, when Augustine pressed him into a corner and knocked him down, cutting his head severely. Parties then separated them. There is great excitement and the act is generally declared one of shameless and murderous intent. The ball was extracted by Drs. Hurtt and Thompson. The St. Louis delegation held a meeting, but took no action, although there was general mortification and no one justified Pulitzer. It will doubtless be brought up in the House tomorrow, as all agree it is a disgrace to St. Louis. The pistol was taken away from Pulitzer by C. C. Cady. It was a Sharp's four-barreled weapon and two balls were discharged.

Wallace Gruelle replied to the *Democrat's* article with a "Card," published the next day, as follows:

Editor of Dispatch: In the Jefferson City correspondence of the *Democrat* this morning Gerald is more severe than just on Mr. Pulitzer. I want it understood in the beginning that I am not Mr. Pulitzer's special companion. I know the correspondent of the *Democrat* to be a perfect gentleman. I don't believe he would do any man a wrong intentionally; yet, misled doubtless by rumor, he has done Mr. Pulitzer injustice in making the following statement: As he moved to the sidewalk he met two or three gentlemen of the press and said: "If you wait a little while you'll have an item." The idea conveyed is that Mr. Pulitzer told the gentlemen of the press, who happened to be T. D. Rapp and myself, before he left the hotel or as he was leaving it, "Wait awhile," which is correct.

The whole thing is this: Understanding that a meeting of the St. Louis delegation was to be held in the parlor of Schmidt's Hotel, Rapp and I went down there. We found several German members and Mr. Augustine talking over an article in the *Westliche Post* and of which Mr. Pulitzer was the author. He had ascribed Mr. Augustine's visit to Jefferson City to improper motives and that gentleman was correspondingly indignant.

Mr. Pulitzer entered from the street door, and went up to them and asked what was the subject of discussion. Someone answered "You." Mr. Augustine then spoke to him and told him that in writing what he did about him in the *Westliche Post* he was a liar, or words to that effect. Mr. Pulitzer told him to be more cautious in his language. Mr. Augustine, very excited, told him he was a "d—d liar." Mr. Pulitzer then left the crowd and came over to where Waters of Ray, Moon of Livingston and T. D. Rapp and myself were standing. I said to him, "Pulitzer, why didn't you

knock that man down when he called you a d—d liar? You must keep up the esprit de corps, man." Pulitzer replied, "Oh, it's all about the County Court." In a minute or two he left the house.

About five minutes afterwards I had a message to send off and asked Mr. Rapp if he felt like walking to the telegraph office with me. He said he had no objections. We started, and about 20 feet from the door we met Mr. Pulitzer returning to the hotel. It was then he told us to come back, that we would get a good item. Thinking he alluded to the meeting of the delegation, I told him we would be back in a few minutes. At High street we separated, going down that street to the telegraph office. When about half way across the square I met three of the committee clerks of the House, all of them out of breath and running. One of them told me to go to Schmidt's Hotel, and I would get an item. I told him I had just left Schmidt's. He said a shooting scrape had occurred. I turned back and found that Pulitzer had shot Augustine.

I am no upholder of assassination, but because a man unfortunately gets himself into a scrape, I do not see the necessity of hounding him down. Politically, Mr. Pulitzer and I are enemies. Personally, we are friends. I have stood by him and I will stand by him. I may not justify the step he took, but then I want justice done the man. His case may be bad enough in its best aspect, but I cannot see the necessity of making it worse than it really is.

Respectfully,

WALLACE GRUELLE.

Gruelle supplemented his "card" with the following somewhat amusing dispatch:

Jefferson City, Jan. 28, 1870.—The exciting topic this morning is the shooting affair at Schmidt's Hotel. I think this is overdone. At least Pulitzer is blamed more than he ought to be. As I told him last night, after he reached his room, I had a great notion to shoot him for aiming at Augustine's breast and hitting him only in the leg. Bad marksmanship is to be deprecated on all occasions, and when a member of the press—and a Legislator to boot—essays to burn gunpowder I want him to go the whole hog.

As I am the political guardian of Pulitzer, I have got him all right on important questions—his cue to vote "no" whenever Mr. McGinnis, who sits directly in front of him, votes "aye." I will have to practice him at pistol shooting—have to make him understand that when he wants to shoot a gentleman he must take distance at such a pace that the party to be shot cannot knock the pistol down with his hand. Shooting is a science and ought to be scientifically done. I am going to turn the alleyway of Miss Lusk, just back of my room, into a shooting gallery and put Pulitzer under a severe course of training for about two weeks, day and night, and I bet, at the end of that time, he can snuff a candle at 10 steps. If he can't, I now and here pledge you my word of honor that I will shoot him myself.

WALLACE GRUELLE.

The shooting raised an uproar at Jefferson City. It was the first storm of his stormy career, in which his fights on ringsters, corruptionists and public officials whose conduct and standards he condemned, brought on him abuse and occasionally assaults. The whole gang of schemers, grafters and lobbyists wanted to "do" him and get him out of the way. Joseph P. Colcord, a friend of Augustine, wanted him lynched, but he went to his room unmolested.

Anthony Ittner, who roomed with Pulitzer and who went with him to headquarters when he was arrested, to give bail, saw him immediately after the shooting. Pulitzer was washing a little blood from a slight cut caused by the blow of a revolver in Augustine's hand. Ittner said afterwards Mr. Pulitzer was quite cheerful and greeted him with a broad grin and a "Hello, Tony." Ittner saw Augustine and found that the shot had caused a flesh wound which was not serious.

An attempt was made in the House to create a committee empowered to investigate the affair, but that failed on the ground that it was not the concern of the House, and the law ought to be permitted to take its course. Ittner subsequently said: "Mr. Pulitzer was a live wire in anything he undertook, and was absolutely devoid of fear."

In the Police Court the next morning Mr. Pulitzer was fined \$5 for disturbance of the peace. But that did not end the effort to have him punished. He was indicted for assault and attempt to kill. Two lawyers from St. Louis, Circuit Attorney Charles P. Johnson and Britton A. Hill, volunteered to defend him, and succeeded in having the case postponed till the atmosphere cooled off.

Finally, Mr. Pulitzer was fined \$100 which, with costs, ran the bill up to \$400. This was too much for his slender resources, so ex-Mayor Daniel G. Taylor, Lieutenant-Governor E. O. Stanard, Henry C. Yeager and others contributed to a fund to pay the fine and costs. Subsequently, every dollar was paid back.

One of the reasons for the lobbyists easing up on the persecution of Pulitzer was the threat by an old professional lobbyist to expose all the rascalities of the lobby. He re-

marked: "If that boy goes to prison, he will not go alone." That settled it.

Years after Mr. Pulitzer referred to the scrap as "the first hit I ever made." He won out. His bill was passed; the Augustine contract was annulled, and the corrupt county court was deprived of power.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

Shortly after this, Mr. Pulitzer took his first step into the big political arena. The riot of corruption under the Grant administration, with its whisky ring, land grabbing, and various forms of privilege and graft disgusted and alienated a large body of Republicans. These men not only condemned the corruption in Washington, but the corruption and oppression of the reconstruction era in the South. Such men as Sumner, Seward and Greeley, with high ideals, were succeeded in office by Thad Stevens, Ben Wade, Zach Chandler—whose dominance in the party caused resentment among thousands of good Republicans. The administration went from bad to worse, until it culminated in a revolt.

The situation in Missouri was very bad with regard to the proscription of Southern soldiers and sympathizers. The Drake Constitution, made in 1865, in the heat of war passion, expressed the vindictive policy of the Republican party. One clause of this constitution prohibited from holding office or voting "anyone who had ever participated in the rebellion against the United States, or had given aid, comfort, countenance or support to persons engaged in it; or who had ever sympathized with the cause or with those engaged in the cause."

Another provision proposed an iron-clad oath which had to be taken by everyone who wished to vote or hold office. He had to swear that he had never violated any of the provisions of the previous clause. More than this, it prescribed that those who could not take the oath could not practice law, serve as professors or teachers, or hold office in any corporation.

These drastic, intolerant provisions of the Constitution were opposed by men of liberal mind in both the Republican

and Democratic parties. The Liberal Republican movement was started in Missouri. It was headed by Carl Schurz and his able newspaper assistant and political lieutenant, Joseph Pulitzer. The organization called upon all liberal Republicans and Democrats to join the movement against the proscription of the Southern soldiers and sympathizers. This tyranny was particularly obnoxious to Mr. Pulitzer, who became one of the principal leaders of the movement. It resulted in the nomination and election of B. Gratz Brown as governor, in the autumn of 1870. He defeated McClurg, nominee of the regular Republicans.

The election of Brown and the Liberal Republican ticket encouraged the leaders of the national revolt. November 22, 1870, a conference was held in New York attended by Carl Schurz, Charles Francis Adams, William Cullen Bryant, Samuel Bowles, General Jacob Cox and other prominent Republicans. This was the beginning of the fight against Grant, which culminated in the nomination and defeat of Horace Greeley. The *Westliche Post*, under the practical direction then of Joseph Pulitzer, was an ardent supporter of the movement. Associated with it were the *Chicago Tribune*, and the Cincinnati *Commercial*, the Springfield *Republican* and the New York *Tribune*.

Governor Brown appointed Mr. Pulitzer one of the three members of the Board of Police Commissioners for St. Louis. Of course, he dominated the police commission, as he dominated everything in which he took part. He had a stormy time of it. He warred against the gamblers, and the vice dens, and was warred upon in return. His two years' service on the Police Board, however, gave him an insight into the inner workings of politics and of the rings which attempted to control the police.

IN NATIONAL POLITICS

The growing Independent movement soon became a political party, for the purpose for which it was organized, under the name of the Liberal Republican party. Joseph Pulitzer drafted, and signed a call for a convention, to be held at Jefferson City, January 24, 1872. It was called to send

delegates to a convention of Liberal Republicans at Cincinnati, on the first Wednesday of the following week. Mr. Pulitzer was elected a delegate. As the secretary of the reform organization, Mr. Pulitzer, young as he was, did most of the work. He wrote the resolutions and did much of the public speaking.

At the convention in Cincinnati Joseph Pulitzer, although not yet known nationally, and therefore could not be classed with the leaders of national strength and reputation, was active and prominent as one of the leaders of the initial movement in Missouri. He was very young in years—only twenty-five—but was made one of the secretaries of the convention. Greeley and Brown were nominated for president and vice president.

Thoroughly devoted to the cause, passionately for justice and liberty for the Southern people and the purification of the Federal administration, the young man threw himself with all his energy into the campaign, vigorously supporting it in the *Westliche Post*. He found time to make sixty speeches, mostly in Missouri and Indiana. He spoke in German, not yet having fully mastered the art of speaking in English in public.

Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated by Grant, so the little movement came to an inglorious end from the practical political standpoint. Nevertheless, it had a very great effect on public sentiment.

The campaign was the turning point in Mr. Pulitzer's career, in two important respects. He threw aside his Republican affiliations and became a Democrat, an unwavering disciple of Jeffersonian principles of government, but he was a devotee of principle not of the party organization. He was an independent Democrat, following the party when it stood by its principles, and opposing it and its candidates when they did not measure up to the right standard.

He did not view politics as a game for mere power, office or spoils, but as a high, serious pursuit for the public welfare. It was through politics that the people could control the government. He looked upon political activity, the molding and crystallizing of public opinion behind parties and candidates, as a means to beneficent governmental ends. He once remarked:

Knowing only the governments of Europe, where privilege ruled and the people were crushed under foot, I was an Anarchist when I came to America. But when I found that American institutions were founded upon the principles of justice and liberty, and that the people were sovereign and could accomplish what they wanted through the ballot, I became an ardent supporter of free constitutional government.

ACQUIRES INTEREST IN THE WESTLICHE POST

The most important effect on his fortunes of the campaign, however, was the opportunity it gave him to acquire an interest in the *Westliche Post*. He had become such an overshadowing factor in the *Westliche Post* that it may be said that he was the *Westliche Post*. He was looked upon as "the indispensable man." No one there could do the vast amount of work he did. Both Schurz and Preetorius being out of active newspaper direction, the one on account of politics and the other on account of a nervous disorder, felt that they must bind Joseph Pulitzer to the newspaper. They were afraid of the effect of the Greeley campaigns on the paper's future. Mr. Pulitzer himself, in a letter to St. Clair McKelway, editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, told him how it happened:

About forty years ago, when I was only twenty-five, some of the proprietors of the *Westliche Post*, in St. Louis, became nervous, wanted to retire, thought the paper was ruined by the Greeley campaign, and sold me a proprietary interest in that paper on very liberal terms. They thought I was necessary to the paper. They probably would have done the same thing to any other man who worked sixteen hours a day, as I did through that campaign.

When Mr. Pulitzer became part proprietor of the *Westliche Post*, with an income which enabled him to live in comfort, his prominence and influence in St. Louis increased. He moved to the Lindell Hotel, where a group of young, well-to-do bachelors lived. Mr. T. Saunders Foster, a former St. Louisan, who afterwards became interested in ranching and mining in the Southwest, was one of the group. He gave this picture of J. P.:

In the early seventies, a number of young St. Louis bachelors, among whom were Joseph Pulitzer, Henry Ames, Will Nave and myself, lived at the old Lindell Hotel, which stood on the northwest corner of Washington Avenue and Sixth Street. We were a companionable group, and, quite

naturally, saw much of one another. It was our custom of evenings to meet in the hotel, especially on summer nights, when we sat out in front, talking and exchanging stories.

Mr. Pulitzer was one of the most companionable members of this group, a good story-teller, full of fun, and much inclined to practical joking. At that time he was connected with one of the German newspapers and was quite active in politics. He was a Democrat and was much interested in the success of the party. Shortly afterwards, he was elected to the Missouri State Legislature, where he served with distinction.

Although he was always ready to talk politics, he preferred, when with us, to joke and relate anecdotes. I remember, too, that he was very fond of riding, and owned a fine saddle-horse on which he took long morning rides. He talked very little of his newspaper work.

Mr. Pulitzer never abandoned horseback riding during his whole residence in St. Louis. He owned a fine, well-trained saddle-horse upon which he rode daily.

Murat Halstead, editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, thus described his first meeting with Joseph Pulitzer when the latter was on the *Westliche Post*. He said: "I was visiting Carl Schurz in the office of the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis. We were talking shop and considering men. Mr. Schurz said: 'I have a fellow here who is going to be heard from,' and added, with a laugh, 'They say he looks like me.' Just then the door opened and through the crack came the very tall thin figure of Joseph Pulitzer, red-bearded and scrawny. We were introduced, and remained always friends."

The Greeley campaign had left the world of politics and the *Westliche Post* somewhat flat. The newspaper had suffered from defeat, and the high-compression engine, Mr. Pulitzer, was too speedy for his elder and more conservative confreres. His dash and vigor disconcerted them, so they made him a handsome offer for his interest in the *Westliche Post*. They gave him \$30,000 to retire.

With his \$30,000, which was a large sum for that time for a young man of 25, Mr. Pulitzer took a holiday. He revisited his old home and his family and friends in Hungary. He traveled through the Continent, giving himself up completely to pleasure and observation. He was deeply interested in the contrast between the conditions of the common people in Europe under the heel of emperors, kings and nobles, and the people of America under a free constitutional republic.

Returning to St. Louis from Europe, he kept his eye open for opportunities. There was an interesting newspaper situation in St. Louis. George W. Fishback had secured control of the St. Louis *Democrat*, allotting portions of the capital stock to those he wanted associated with him. One was an able newspaper editor, Joseph B. McCullagh. D. M. Houser, who had held an interest in the *Democrat*, and William McKee organized an edition of the morning *Globe*. This was July 18, 1872. Subsequently McCullagh joined the *Globe's* staff. The paper, however, did not have an Associated Press franchise and was severely handicapped in obtaining the news.

The *Staats-Zeitung*, one of several German dailies, was bankrupt and for sale. Joseph Pulitzer bought it for a song, and ran it only one day, disposing of the press franchise to the *Globe* for \$20,000 and the machinery to several Germans who started another short-lived German daily.

The *Globe*, under the aid and active direction of McCullagh, with an Associated Press franchise, gave the *Democrat* such lively competition that the two papers were consolidated, with the title of *The Globe-Democrat*, which dominated the morning field. And now, having absorbed *The Republic*, previously the *Missouri Republican*, its only competitor, holds a monopoly in that field.

SOCIAL LIFE IN ST. LOUIS

Having ample means and leisure, Mr. Pulitzer devoted his time to politics and social life. At that time social life in St. Louis was lively and charming, both in the German element, which was inclined to be clannish, and the native American, in which were many Southerners of good family. Mr. Pulitzer joined in both, although he lived on the South Side, at 1547 Papin Street, where the Germans predominated. That part of the town, however, at that day, had many residences of the fashionable and wealthy set. Carl Schurz was a neighbor, living with Felix Coste. Next door were the Balmers, a musical family. Balmer had a music store. It was a center of musical interest. He had several attractive daughters, who sang and played. All the musicians of note

in town frequented the Balmer home. German opera stars, when in town, made it their rendezvous. Sunday nights were musical gala occasions at the Balmers', and Mr. Pulitzer, who was a frequent visitor, called the Balmer girls "The Nightingales." Old residents recall frequently seeing Joseph Pulitzer, Col. J. C. Normile, and Col. J. L. Torrey mounted on handsome riding horses taking daily rides around the suburbs. All three were tall men, priding themselves on their horsemanship. Normile and Torrey were prominent lawyers and men about town.

St. Louis then was very much like an overgrown village. Its population was something over 300,000, and everyone of any importance at all either in the professions, politics, or business, knew everyone else worth knowing. The social atmosphere was Southern, warm and hospitable. Balls and parties were frequent. Charles Jump, a dispenser of liquid refreshment, who had a knack for making composite pictures and cartoons, included Pulitzer in many of his pictures and cartoons. In one elaborate composite picture of a great St. Louis ball, Mr. Pulitzer is easily distinguishable in dress suit, as the center of a gay party. This picture, with many others, including a composite picture of the ball given by the Elks, the most popular organization of early days, and original cartoons of Joseph Keppler, in which Pulitzer figured, hung in Bessehl's saloon and restaurant, on the west side of Fifth Street near Market. The walls of the place were filled with cartoons and pictures of the prominent men of that day. Pulitzer was a favorite subject of Keppler, while both lived in St. Louis. Keppler used to say that when he had nothing else to do he could always cartoon Joe Pulitzer's nose.

Joseph Pulitzer never could stand idleness long. After a few months of pleasant leisure, he was up to his neck again in politics. This time it was a State campaign.

BECOMES A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT

The Republicans having been beaten by the Liberals and Democrats, tried to catch the Independents by forming a People's Party. They were soon called the "Tadpoles." They

nominated William Gentry, a prosperous gentleman farmer, for governor. The Democrats nominated Charles M. Hardin. The "Tadpoles" called their opponents the "Bourbons," and a hot fight was on. Mr. Pulitzer declared for the Democratic nominee, and by doing so dissolved a close political association which had existed between him and William S. Grosvenor, editor of the *Democrat*. Both were leaders of the Independent movement, and were known as the political firm of "Bill and Joe." Mr. Pulitzer made known his position in what purported to be an interview, published in the *St. Louis Globe*, September 7, 1874.

The only importance that could be attached to an interview with Hon. Joseph Pulitzer just now arises from the fact that he is the positive circulating radiator of the Schurz element and was Bill's right-hand bower from the birth of the puny and deformed Tadpole baby until that miserable infant breathed its last at Jefferson City. Joseph mourns the loss of the baby, but would feel much better had Bill and the other nurses poisoned it long before, rather than let it die such a horrible death.

"Mr. Pulitzer," asked a reporter yesterday, "do you approve of the manner in which the People's Convention threw Weigel overboard?"

"Certainly. They did excellently well in making their choice. Oh yes! I wanted the 'Tadpoles' to commit suicide, but they have decided to die a lingering death. This will give them a chance to repent. Yes, they did excellently well."

"Then you really mean that they have done excellently wrong?"

"Why," said he, "the fools could not have done worse if they had tried. The ticket is so very mean and miserable that I like it. It is an excellent joke."

"What do you think of the head of the ticket?"

"Mr. Gentry is, I believe, a gentleman, but I am not aware of any fundamental law or provision to be found in the Constitution of the State of Missouri which forbids a man to have ideas beyond the culture of hogs. Mr. Gentry is an excellent farmer, but because he is an excellent farmer is no reason why he should make an excellent Governor. I've known farmers in my time who were as excellent as he is, but they would be fools in the Governor's chair. I'm a good fellow and I believe you think so; you are a good fellow; but what an absurdity it would be for either of us to aspire to the office of Governor of the great State of Missouri. The man Gentry is an ass, and he was nominated by asses."

When questioned in regard to his opinion of the whole ticket, he expressed himself as being disgusted with it from first to last.

Mr. Pulitzer was not satisfied with this so-called interview, and corrected it in a statement for the *Missouri Republican*, as follows:

Is it necessary for me to say that the pretended interview in the *Globe* is a fiction and not a fact? While I have used no such language as that imputed to me, I do not deny having exercised the great privilege so stoutly advocated by the *Republican*, and the one upon which the so-called People's movement is based—the inalienable right of bolting. The political firm of Joe and Bill is dissolved. Neither the unquestionable personal honesty of Farmer Gentry, nor the ingenuousness of the platform, nor the power of old associations, the natural reluctance to sever them, the sympathy and admiration for honored friends, nor the participation in the incipency of the movement before it had any form, unity or aim, can reconcile me to so palpable a result of politics without principle. For one, the appeal to personal and political independence shall not have been in vain.

I bolt both the platform and the ticket. Not that I fail to recognize in the movement some excellent men and good intentions. But without referring to that particularly warm place said to be paved with good intentions, the result of the convention reminds me very much of that leg of mutton on which old Dr. Johnson dined on the way to Oxford, and which he declared to be as bad as could be: "ill-fed, ill-kept, ill-killed, and ill-dressed." Platform and ticket are ill-born, ill-reared, ill-principled, and ill-led. To men of thought and principle both platform and ticket are deaf and dumb. Selecting candidates upon the whole very much inferior to those of the Democracy, the convention remained still further behind by failing to protest against the real causes of the prostrate condition of the country—the corruption, the lawlessness, the usurpation and the profligacy of the national administration.

Is it justifiable either by principle or policy for the people of one state to declare for self-government and reform, and calmly see their brethren of the next state robbed and ruined and turn a deaf ear to their appeals for help and sympathy? Is it either patriotic or honest for the people of one state to declare for self-government and reforms, and appeal for votes to the very political party which has reduced the principles of self-government to a farce, and fastened a government of force and fraud, of robbers and robbed, upon sister states, members of the same Union, parts of the same grand Republic and people of the same race and nation? Is Missouri an island in the South Sea that she should know nothing of the political issues of the country? Or if she does, is she like the ostrich that, by hiding his head under the sand, thinks his whole body is hidden?

Not agreeing with that part of the Democratic platform which fails to distinctly repudiate any idea of inflation or repudiation, I find still less excuse for a new movement without courage to express any idea upon national affairs, without new or old principles, without protest against the alarming centralization and corruption of power at Washington, and with

clearly no other aim than to have one set of state officers rather than the other, and that, too, the more unknown and unreliable set.

Had the convention, instead of cowardly trucking to the Grant party of this state, imitated the bold and manly course of the Illinois Democracy and declared against inflation and centralization, corruption and misgovernment and robbery in the South, it would have commanded the sympathy of all independent voters, no matter what the chances of success had been. But when, to allure as many votes as possible, it sacrificed principles and ideas in order to unite Grantites and anti-Grantites, Democrats and Republicans, hard-money men and inflationists, home-rulers and centralizationsists, rebels and Union soldiers, postmasters and people, white and black men, it sacrificed not only success, but what was more valuable, the honor and independence of its professions and the respect of its thinking and independent sympathizers. However, I lack both time and inclination to go into the merits of the case more at length and subscribe myself, with respect,

Yours independently,

JOSEPH PULITZER.

A red-hot campaign followed the nomination of Hardin on the Democratic ticket and Gentry on the Republican ticket, and Mr. Pulitzer, free from any binding occupation, plunged into it with his usual fiery zeal. He made many speeches throughout the State. He vigorously assailed the Grant administration, carpet-bag rule in the South, and the vindictive treatment of Southern soldiers and sympathizers. He was bitterly assailed by his old associates in the Republican party. He had a deep personal interest in the campaign, because a convention to revise the tyrannical Drake Constitution of 1865 had been called to meet in Jefferson City, May 5, 1875, and he was a candidate for a delegateship to that convention. The Democrats won, and Pulitzer was elected a delegate. His membership in the convention to frame the new Constitution gave him opportunity to perform the most important public service that he had been called upon to do.

(To be continued)

GHOST TOWNS AND CENTENARIAN COMMUNITIES OF CENTRAL MISSOURI

BY WALTER RIDGWAY

A peep into the files of the old newspapers of Central Missouri reveals advertisements and announcements regarding sales of town lots in scores of towns, many of which sprang up and withered like Jonah's gourd the day after, to be remembered no more forever, and the peep likewise strengthens the belief that this thing of high pressure salesmanship and the desire to get rich quick is not altogether a new thing.

Some of the most prominent men of the pioneer days of Missouri were the leaders and promoters of town lot sales. Some of them held the highest offices in the State and were connected with a half dozen or more towns.

If the plans of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Governor Alexander McNair and ten other leading citizens had carried, the capital of Missouri would be Osage, a pretentious city to be located at the confluence of the Osage and Missouri rivers, a few miles east of Jefferson City. The plans and the announcement concerning the city-to-be were published in the *Boonslick Advertiser* June 4, 1819, which stated that "the whole plan is liberal, streets wide, large squares left for public buildings and a street a mile long paralleling each river front." In fact, it was pointed out that as the Osage river flowed from the land of cotton and should be free from ice most of the year, the town would become a great shipping mart and harbor for steamboats and barges, and the town, being almost in the center of the proposed new state measuring in both directions, would undoubtedly be the seat of government. The lots in this town were sold at auction in the town of Franklin and in St. Louis. An imposing list of proprietors was attached to the advertisement: Angus Lewis Langham, William Rector, Alexander M'Nair, Samuel Hammond, Richard Gentry, Thomas Rector, Talbot Chambers, J. M'Gunnegle, Henry W. Conway, Samuel T. Beall, Stephen Glasscock, Thomas H. Benton.

Shortly after the announcement of the sale of lots in Osage came the announcement of R. and J. Heath in the same newspaper that they had laid off a town at the mouth of the Gasconade stating that time and place of the sale of lots would be made known later and stating, too, that "Gentlemen are requested to turn their eyes toward this important point whilst the lots are cheap."

It was over three years before the seat of government of the State of Missouri was established at Jefferson City. Two hundred lots were advertised for sale in the *Boonslick Advertiser* February 4, 1823, and bids for the erection of a building, two stories high, 40x60 feet in dimensions, were asked for the three trustees, Josiah Ramsay, Jr., John C. Gordon, and Adam Hope. William B. Scott, who had a good eye to business, announced coincidentally that he would sell on the same date at the same place lots in a town he called Washington to be located across the river from Jefferson City.

All up and down the Missouri river, which was called appropriately, "the Great Highway", towns were advertised, whose locations with respect to pure spring water were nearly always mentioned and in a few cases stone coal and building material were pointed out by the promoters. In nearly every case mechanics and builders were especially invited and free lots to such people were offered, for they were considered the backbone of any town.

The prospect for the location of the seat of government was offered as bait to buyers in a dozen of the towns. The *Boonslick Advertiser* of April 23, 1819, had an advertisement of a land sale near Cote Sans Dessein, and it was stated that the seat of government would undoubtedly be near this land. This land was a part of "the confirmed Spanish grant" of 7056 arpens. It is interesting to note that the terms indicated were attractive, "one-third cash or negroes at fair price."

The advertisement for a lot sale in the town of Chariton, which was located near Glasgow, was printed May 7, 1819, with J. S. Findlay as proprietor. The town of Richmond was to be located on "the Spanish Needle prairie of Howard County". The trustees of this town were Bennett Clark, Samuel Gibbs, William M'Kenzie, Joseph Seares, ———

Highe, H. Burnham and A. Storrs. The last named was postmaster of Franklin.

Followed in rapid succession the announcements of the towns of Columbus, near the mouth of the little Osage; Smithton, which became the seat of government of Boone, the site of which is now in the corporate limits of Columbia, the proprietors of the latter being Taylor Berry, Richard Gentry and David Todd; Missouriiton, "an eligible site near the mouth of the Saline River"; Boonville, on the south side of the Missouri river near Franklin; Columbia, "a beautiful situation on the Missouri river nearly opposite Missouriiton in the sugar tree bottom about forty miles west of Boonville;" Nashville, about thirty miles east of Franklin on the Missouri river, one of whose proprietors was Richard Gentry; Bluffton, which was to be about sixty miles up the River from Chariton; Persia, a city of prominence to be located where the Boonlick Trail or the St. Charles Road, as it was called in those days, crossed the Roche Perce river a few miles northwest of Columbia, one of whose proprietors was Nathaniel Patton, editor of the *Boonslick Advertiser*, a statement of whose advertisement ran, "the proprietors do not wish to exhibit it on paper for the purpose of speculation, as is too frequently the case."

The town of Columbia on the Missouri river evidently did not prosper for in May, 1821, the town of Columbia in Boone county—L. Bass, John Gray, David Jackson, Absalom Hicks and Jefferson Fulcher, proprietors—was advertised. Town lots in Fayette, which was chosen as the seat of government of Howard county, after that county had been reduced to its present confines and a commission appointed by the State legislature to designate a new seat of government nearer the center than Franklin, were advertised for sale. The trustees were George Steepleton, Rowland Hughes, David Lay, Robert Payne, and Uriah Williams.

But so important was the town of Franklin, which was the metropolis of the Boonslick Country, and so important was the *Boonslick Advertiser* that promoters of other parts of the country was using the columns of this paper to advertise their sales. William M. Alexander advertised lots for sale in

the town of America at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the issue of April 9, 1820. The town of Louisiana, about ninety miles north of St. Louis near the mouth of the Salt River was advertised in May 27, 1820. It pointed out that this town would be on a main highway from Illinois and Indiana to the Boonslick Country, a shorter route by many miles and on "dry ground".

All of this feverish activity in town selling and building in early Missouri was centered at Franklin which gave promise of being a great metropolis. No better evidence of the activity at Franklin can be found than the two or three columns of advertised letters which were run in the *Advertiser* every week almost from the first issue, and it was not long until this newspaper was carrying like advertisements from the post offices at Chariton and Boonville. The town founded in 1816, had by 1819, besides a well known newspaper, a public square and court house, 200 dwellings, land office, Masonic lodge, academies for boys and girls, tobacco warehouse and factory, two excellent schools, one of which was conducted by Jonathan S. Findley, a brother of the governor of the State of Pennsylvania, a public library, three taverns, five stores, carding mill, a fire company, a company of militia and a rope walk or cordage factory. This was quite a town which soon became the terminus of travel for homeseekers from Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina and many other states. They came in tow boats with their negro slaves. They came in wagons and carriages over the Boonslick Trail from St. Louis and later in steamboats up the Missouri. The town of Franklin soon, also, became the outfitting place and the starting point for those restless spirits who blazed the Santa Fe Trail and began a lucrative business with the Spanish at Santa Fe, New Mexico: but the sun soon set upon the glories of Franklin, for as soon as Missouri became a state, Howard county was reduced to its present limits and in 1824 the new seat of government was established at Fayette, a more central location; the Missouri river vengefully washed the town into its channel; it had to move to higher ground in 1829 but its glories were gone.

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

THIRD ARTICLE

"MACK," WAR CORRESPONDENT—Continued

The boldness with which he wrote led to an early change in Mr. McCullagh's newspaper relationship at Cincinnati. At Shiloh the Union forces were driven back the first day and narrowly escaped defeat. There was mismanagement, with reports of drunkenness of officers. McCullagh showed what he had written to another correspondent. He was told that the *Gazette* would not print it if he sent it. He said that if the paper did not print it he would resign. The matter did not appear. The correspondent immediately sent in his resignation. The charges which had been refused by the *Gazette* appeared in another paper. Murat Halstead, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, heard of the row, sent a message offering twice what the *Gazette* had been paying, with promise of freedom in the correspondence. The relationship with the *Commercial* continued through the war and in the years following at Washington. Halstead kept his promise and the fame of "Mack" as a fearless, untrammelled writer mounted. One who was familiar with the evolution of McCullagh in that period wrote many years ago:

The Cincinnati papers were published on the verge of the field of the war in the West, the region in which the Army of the Cumberland marched and fought over. The Cincinnati *Commercial* was early into Nashville, the great fortress and magazine depot of the armies operating in Kentucky and Tennessee and to the east and south. McCullagh made it the soldiers' paper. His name was learned earliest and remembered longest among the war correspondents. The volunteer armies of the United States were made up of newspaper readers and judges of the article. These men followed "Mack" when he took up the work of political correspondent, reporting political campaigns in the North as he had military campaigns in the South. In fact those who read his contributions in the shadow of the little shelter tents, or in the 'company ground' or at halts on the march never forgot him, but were constant readers of whatever he wrote afterward to the sorrowful end of his days.

THE LESSON AT HOLLY SPRINGS

The capture of Holly Springs by Van Dorn just before Christmas, 1862, on the face of it, was a severe blow to Grant and the Northern side. McCullagh, however, called it "a smile for Grant behind the frown of fortune that fell upon the national cause in the Southwest." It showed the right way to get Vicksburg. It put an end to the policy at Washington to direct the movements of Grant in detail.

On the part of the Confederates it was one of the most successful movements of the kind in the whole rebellion, eclipsing the most daring deeds of Forrest who had been considered the master of that branch of warfare. The capture and parole of that garrison of more than 1,500 men, under Col. Murphy, of the 8th Wisconsin, was a small part of the achievement, compared with the destruction of many millions' worth of military and medical supplies stored there for the use of the Federal army, and the bonfire of all the cotton that had been gathering there for months, awaiting shipment to the North. Holly Springs was the secondary base for Grant's army, the primary base being Memphis from which it was distant forty-five miles by railroad. The smile of fortune came to Grant in the demonstration that he was on the wrong road to Vicksburg, for which point he had started from Jackson, Tenn., on November 2. In gaining a victory for himself, Van Dorn taught a lesson to his adversary which vastly more than compensated for the injury he inflicted. Up to this time, Grant, as is apparent from his "Memoirs," had been conducting a campaign under orders from Washington which directed him to move through the interior of Mississippi to Jackson. He was then at Oxford, and had 150 miles of movement ahead of him, and sixty miles behind him to Memphis. The Holly Springs raid convinced him that he could not maintain a railroad line 210 miles long—from Memphis to Jackson, Miss.—without depleting his army to such an extent that when he got to Jackson he would have no fighting force worthy of the name. At Washington about that time they concluded to take down the fingerboard with which they had been directing military operations 1,000 miles distant, and to let Grant make his own way to victory in the Southwest. The result was the new departure which stamped Grant as a really great commander.

Much is said by adverse critics about Grant as a man of luck rather than of genius as though luck and genius, as applied to war, were both convertible terms, and both mere synonyms of success. It is undoubtedly true that Grant's military pathway was brightened and lightened by a great many streaks of good fortune; but it may be doubted if any of them equaled the Holly Springs raid, which, however, was a piece of luck only when supplemented by Grant's good sense to turn misfortune into instruction.

REBUKED BY GRANT

The Holly Springs incident is especially interesting in the relation it bears on Mr. McCullagh's war correspondence and in that it led to the only occasion of his rebuke by General Grant.

The only rebuke I ever received from General Grant for matters written by me from his army—covering the year and a half from Donelson to the surrender of Vicksburg—was on account of the Holly Springs episode. A week or ten days after the Van Dorn raid I was in Memphis, and I there met Colonel Murphy who had surrendered the post. Out of a long conversation with him at the Gayoso House I made a letter to the *Commercial*, showing from his official reports that a very large percentage of his men were unavailable for defense because detailed under orders from his superiors for duty in hauling and guarding cotton. Murphy contended that he could have successfully resisted Van Dorn if his little army had not been depleted by the exigencies of cotton speculating. I published the official figures showing the number of men composing the garrison and the number of those that were on cotton duty. The ratio of the latter to the former was very large. I attempted no justification of Murphy's surrender, but thought he was entitled to the publication of his side of the case. The name of General Grant's father appeared prominently in the list of cotton speculators for whose service the soldiers had been used. The old gentleman dearly loved a dollar and had allowed some business men of Cincinnati, for a consideration in the form of a commission or percentage, to make use of his name for the purpose of obtaining special permits and privileges for buying cotton within the lines. General Grant was incensed at the contents of my letter, and when I saw him, six or eight weeks later, he asked me if I was the author of it. I replied in the affirmative, and he asked where I got my information. I answered that all the information as to the disposition of the troops on the day of the battle—the number of soldiers who were hauling cotton, for whom they were hauling it, and by whose order they were thus assigned—were from Colonel Murphy's official reports. "Didn't you know that Murphy was a traitor—that he had proved a traitor at Iuka?" said the General. My answer was very respectful, but to the effect that I did not suppose a man who had proved himself a traitor to a former trust would have been selected as commander of a post like Holly Springs. Murphy had evacuated Iuka on the approach of a much superior force under General Sterling Price and had been censured by General Rosecrans for so doing. In his "Memoirs," General Grant treats briefly of the matter and concludes by saying that Murphy was either a traitor or a coward. The chances are that he was neither, but that he was simply incompetent—a man unfitted to command and born only to obey. The whole matter of cotton speculation at Holly Springs was afterward reviewed in a law suit over some of the profits before Judge Bellamy Storer, of Cincinnati, and

that eminent jurist, in rendering his opinion, stated facts and made strictures, which, if attempted by me, would have sent me to the Dry Tortugas. It is proper to state that the cotton permits to the General's father and others were issued by division commanders without the knowledge of Grant, who promptly put a stop to the whole business when he heard of it. The famous order expelling the Jews from the army lines after the Holly Springs raid, on account of the inducements which their cotton accumulations had offered to Van Dorn, was undoubtedly dictated from Washington, although it was afterwards very promptly revoked from the same place.

IN THE ROLE OF A SPY

Mr. McCullagh's venture in the role of a spy had no connection with the Holly Springs raid, except in point of time. It came immediately after the raid and is a revelation of conditions at the front at that time—the winter of 1862-3. General Hatch had obtained leave of absence and started from Oxford to go to Memphis, having a party of officers and civilians and a small cavalry escort. McCullagh said:

I concluded to make one of this party and was on hand at the start. Among the civilians with us I well remember the venerable ex-Governor Wood, of Quincy, Ill. He had been doing a little cotton trading—had, I think, been one of the victims of Van Dorn's bonfires, and was anxious to get home. We started bright and early one fine morning, with a ride of sixty miles before us. Reports of headquarters said there was no enemy on the road between Oxford and Memphis. This proved to be almost true but not quite. Before we had gone many miles we could see mounted men crossing the road ahead of us, and sometimes behind us in twos and threes. They would dash out of the woods on one side of the road and disappear in the woods on the other side. They showed no disposition to fight or in any way to challenge our progress. And yet their movements looked ominous and made some of our party quite nervous. They might, for aught we knew, be fragments of a considerable force concealed somewhere in the vicinity, and liable to entertain us at some chosen point with an ambuscade or an open attack. As I was quite as unwilling as any of the others in the party to be killed or captured that day, I asked General Hatch what he proposed to do about it. The general was not much alarmed, yet I could see that he would be gratified by a little definite information as to the strength and intentions of the enemy. After a while I asked him how it would do for me to pass myself off, at some farm house at which we would stop for dinner, as a Confederate prisoner, and while so doing see if I could not find out from the family how many of these troopers were on the road and what they were going to do. The suggestion was at once approved, and I proceeded to enforce it by unbuckling from

my saddle bow a Confederate jacket which I had captured on the Tupelo expedition. As we rode along, I removed my coat and donned the article of apparel. It was a small size, so was I—'not an eagle's talon in the waist'. It fitted me well and gave me an appearance well suited to the character I was to assume—that of a youth suspected of being a guerrilla, and on his way to Memphis to be tried for his life for violating the laws of war. My plea, on the other hand, was to be that I was in the regular service of the Confederacy when captured, and was entitled to treatment as a prisoner of war. It was necessary for me to be accused of a capital offense in order to account for my removal to Memphis for trial.

A splendid farm house loomed up in the near distance just as General Hatch, ex-Gov. Wood and myself had arranged a few preliminary details. The escort halted on the roadside and prepared to give themselves and their horses the rations they carried, while four or five officers and citizens of our company dismounted and walked through a fine lawn to the door of the mansion. A lady of middle age and of fine appearance responded to their call. General Hatch acted as spokesman. He said they had been riding since early morning, and would like a dinner, for which they would pay liberally 'in good Yankee money'. The response was a very courteous smile and invitation to walk in; she would get dinner ready in about half an hour; she had nothing very fine to offer but she would do the best she could. As we entered the parlor I stood in front of General Hatch—careful to be within hearing distance of the landlady—and said, having first given the regulation army salute. 'General can I have the parole of the grounds while we are here?' pointing to the fences which surrounded the house. 'Yes,' said he, 'you can go as far as the fences, but not beyond them, and you must be ready to start at a moment's notice after dinner. By the way, I suppose I will have to pay for your dinner, too, although I am only allowed so much a mile for taking you to Memphis as a prisoner. The hostess drank in every word of this information, and as it proceeded her eyes turned toward me with an expression that was full of kindness and favor. A moment later she left her guests in the front parlor and retired to the back parlor, and as she closed the door between the two, she beckoned me to come to her, which I promptly did. "Oh," said she, "I'd know you were not one of those horrid Yankees, even if you didn't have that uniform on. They needn't give themselves any trouble about paying for your dinner. You'll take dinner with the family right here—myself and my two little girls; my husband and my three boys—well they're where every Southern man should be until the Yankees are whipped." She called one of her daughters into the room and asked her to play on the piano for the little Confederate, and in an instant the 'Bonnie Blue Flag' was in process of very creditable elucidation. Then she inquired as to my nativity and the details of my capture. My story was a short one—that I was a native of South Carolina, had enlisted in a Missouri regiment, and had been captured while on scouting service near Corinth. My reason for belonging to a Missouri regiment was that I knew the names of several of the Camp Jackson boys with whom I attended Centenary Sunday

School just before the war, and this knowledge might come handy on cross-examination. My hostess went into raptures over my South Carolina birth, because it was an honor I shared with herself.

THE PLOT REVEALED

Time was passing, and I had made no progress on the work of my mission, which was to ascertain the chances of our little band being captured by the enemy. "Madam," I said in a whisper, "how many of our men are there on the road between here and Memphis?" "About twenty in all," said she. "They are scattered along the road. I fed ten of them this morning, and I expect to get supper for ten of them this evening." I accompanied the good lady, at her request, to what were the negro quarters before the 'Yankees', as she alleged, carried off all her negroes. The 'quarters' were fitted up like garrison rooms. In the center of each room was a neat table, and the shelves all round were filled with dining ware in tin under the highest state of polish. "This is where my boarders come for their meals," said the madam smiling. While engaged in this survey, a little girl about thirteen rang the dinner bell and four of us—the landlady, her two daughters and myself—were soon seated at an excellent family dinner. The 'Yankees' in the outer room had first been served with a meal from which the trimmings, which graced our table were entirely missing. The hostess and myself talked freely while we dined. She repeated that there were about twenty of 'the boys', as she called them—meaning Confederate cavalry—between her house and Memphis; they were widely scattered though. As to their armament, she said in answer to a question, that it was not good—some had rifles strapped on their shoulders, and others had pistols which were not very effective. "What kind of guns have these Yankees got?" she said, alluding to the troopers who were resting on the roadside. I assured her they were splendidly armed with the best of carbines and pistols, and were picked men and picked horses. "Well," she said, "it doesn't make any difference. Our boys are not going to attack them; it would be too risky, and there wouldn't be anything gained even if they defeated them. Besides, it would take a whole day to get them together, and on the way to Memphis you won't see more than three or four of them in a bunch." In a few moments I was let into the secret of the whole matter. "The boys," as the lady affectionately termed the Confederate cavalymen, were on the lookout for provision trains for Grant's army, which had to be hauled from Memphis to Oxford by wagons in consequence of the destruction of the railroad at Holly Springs. They had information that a big wagon train would start from Memphis 'to-morrow night', and they were going to make a dash for the capture at some point to be agreed upon. While we were discussing this topic a knock at the door of our dining room reminded me that 'time was up', and that my excellent friend and I must part. She accompanied me to the door and, facing General Hatch, asked him very tenderly if he really intended to hang me. The General couldn't tell exactly what would happen; that I would certainly be hanged if proved to be a guerrilla. As

I said, "Good-by," the kind-hearted hostess gave me a motherly embrace, and almost cried as she said: "Well, if you have to die, die like a South Carolinian."

THE COUNTERPLOT EXECUTED

There was one part of my experience as a spy that I did not relate to General Hatch because I feared he would interfere to prevent its execution. I told him exactly what I had heard at the dinner table, that our party was perfectly safe, but that to-morrow night's wagon train was doomed. He said he would fool 'the boys' by asking for a double guard for the wagon train as soon as he got to Memphis. I was anxious to see the Confederate scheme foiled by an increased guard, but it did not seem right to allow the sons and friends of my informant to be sacrificed by death or capture in consequence of my betrayal of a secret confided to me. If the handful of Confederates scattered along the road from Memphis to Oxford should attack a heavily guarded train, supposing it to be lightly guarded, they would surely get the worst of it. So I concluded to send them advice to let the train alone. This was not easily done, but it was done. Among other secrets revealed to me at the farm house was the address of a family in Memphis, between whom and my hostess constant communication was kept up. It was from this source that the information about the wagon train had been derived. I concluded to call on these people, make up a plausible story for excuse, and send word to 'the boys' not to meddle with the train. I got one of the troopers of our company to go with me to the door of the house so as to enable me to continue the appearance of a prisoner. The bell was answered by a middle-aged lady of fine appearance, with whom I was soon on terms of conversational intimacy. I told her I was a prisoner captured near Oxford, and that I had obtained permission to visit her house under guard to call on a family friend. She was quite as well posted as I expected her to be on the subject of the wagon trains; she had a friend at headquarters through whom she learned everything that was going on, and she sent all important information to 'the boys' by relays of couriers over unfrequented bridle-paths. "Well," said I, "I have come to tell you something that 'the boys' should know. On my way to Memphis to day I overheard the Yankee officers say that they had sent word to increase the train guard very much, to put three or four trains into one, and to send fifty or sixty cavalry and a hundred infantry with it. If that is done the boys along the road will have no hope to make anything by attack, and the chances are they all will be killed or captured if they try it on. So I think you had better send word to them to keep out of the way and let the train pass unmolested." My advice was immediately acted upon. A horse was soon saddled and mounted and word was sent to the first station of 'the boys' (distant about five miles from Memphis) whence it was taken from place to place along the line) to let the wagon train go on its way. While I remained in Memphis I heard of its unvexed arrival at Oxford.

(To be continued)

JOHN EVANS, EXPLORER AND SURVEYOR

EDITED BY A. P. NASATIR

PART II

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JOHN EVANS

It is unnecessary to supply any extended comment concerning the documents here reproduced. Suffice it to say that they have been drawn from the *Archivo General de Indias* (Seville), Seccion, *Papeles de Cuba*, and from the *Louisiana Collection* in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Most of the documents were written in English and are here faithfully reproduced as nearly like the originals as was possible. Most of the documents are in rather bad shape, either torn or pollilla-eaten. In the case of the documents that originally were written in French, the author has in the majority of cases translated them, badly written as they were. In cases where the translator has not translated the French, he thought that the letter or notes were so obvious in their meaning that it was needless to translate them. In the case of document nineteen, it was deemed necessary to leave it in the original note form, some of the notes having been written in English and others having been written in French.

These documents have been utilized in the preparation of the accompanying sketch of John Evans' life while in America and therefore in many instances the translator and editor has not deemed it of necessity to "fully" identify all the men, places, and events mentioned in the texts of the documents. These documents have been used in the present writer's study entitled "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Missouri" which is to be found published in the December, 1929, and March, 1930, issues of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Other than in that case, none of the documents drawn from the *Archivo General de Indias* have ever been used or published as far as I know. The documents drawn from the Bancroft Library of the University of California have in one or two cases been used and have been cited by

F. J. Teggart in his study entitled "Notes Supplementary to any Edition of Lewis and Clark" which appeared in the *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1908, I, 185-195.

In the case of translations no attempt has here been made to present a smooth or polished version; the translations closely following the original text.

DOCUMENT NUMBER 1¹

London August 15th 1792

Sir

Perhaps you will be able to recolect that, when when you was last year in London. I waited on you with a Mr. Wm. Owen, when I showed you a little pamphlet by a Dr I. Williams on the discovery of America by *Madog ab Owain Gwynedd* (?) you told me sir that you was acquainted with Dr Samuel Jones, who, it seems, knows something of a Tribe of Welsh Indians: The Bearer hereof Mr John Evans is a young Gentleman of Wales, and his chief reason for coming to America is with the view, which most people here think laudable, of making what enquiries he possibly can about these people, Mr evans is of a very respectable family in Wales, and has always been distinguished for his uncommonly good morals and conduct, he comes not on this intention as the agent or emissary of any political party. Government has not yet been made acquainted with this affair, in which several in Wales are now engaging themselves. I am one of these, and it is our intention to wait some of us on Mr Penkeny² your Ambassador to this Country as soon as we can

¹Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213. This is a sealed original letter. Written in English.

²Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina. Appointed United States Minister to the Court of St. James. He was appointed by President Washington in 1791 and left for his post in 1792. He was later sent as envoy-extraordinary to the Spanish Court where he negotiated the famous Pinckney Treaty (Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real) in 1795.

An account of Pinckney's mission to London is contained in Samuel Flag Bemis' "The London Mission of Thomas Pinckney 1792-1796" in *American Historical Review* XXVIII, 228-247. See also the same author's *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923); *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926) and O. C. Pinckney, *Life of Thomas Pinckney* (New York, 1895).

prepare a proper account to lay before him, of the motives of our intended expedition. we mean to solicit the expenceless sanction of the American States, for our little party are of those who were originally in the opinion of our government *rebelliously* partial to the Americans, and in America we intend to end our days—Mr Evans would, as well as all his friends here, esteem it a favour if you could give him any of that information that he is so desirous of obtaining, i.e., relating the Welsh Indians, and would be glad to wait on Dr Samuel Jones.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant

Edward Williams (rubric)

Addressed to
Wm. Pritchard Esq.
Printer & Bookseller
Philadelphia

DOCUMENT NUMBER II^a

Kaskaskia⁴, March 10th 1795

Sir,

Agreeably to your desire I enclose here a few ideas, hastily thrown together, as hints, upon which you will doubtless, improve in the course of your travels up the Missouri. Such as they are, however, I shall be happy if, in any degree, they may prove Serviceable to you.

Mr Chouteau⁵ assures me, that the Pacific Ocean can lie at no great distance from the Missouri's source—This information, derived from such respectable authority (for Mr

^aOriginal (not sealed) letter taken from the Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213. Written in English.

⁴On Kaskaskia see C. W. Alvord (ed.) *Kaskaskias Records 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections* Volume V, Springfield, 1909); Alvord, *Illinois Country 1673-1818* (Springfield, 1920).

⁵The Chouteaus were a very prominent family of St. Louis. Auguste, Sr., or Pierre, Sr. is here referred to. The former, under Laclede's orders, founded St. Louis in 1764. The Chouteau name was almost a passport in the Indian country, especially among the Osage Indians, among whom Chouteau constructed Fort Carondelet. For an account of the family with special reference to the Indian trade see A. P. Nasatir, "The Chouteaus and the Indian Trade of the West 1764-1865", Thesis, University of California Library.

Chouteau has himself travelled 500 leagues up the Missouri) must afford you consolation amidst all your fatigues.

The same Gentleman tells me that at a great distance up that River, you will meet with some new—animals—animals unknown in our Natural History: particularly one, of the size and nearly the colour of the elk, but with much longer hair. Under this hair, he is clothed with a fine and very long fur. He has two large horns—which, issuing from behind the ears and turning backwards in a circle, terminate in two points projecting before the head, in a horizontal direction. Do not fail, good Sir, to procure me a couple of the Skins (male and female) so that they can be stuffed to exhibit the entire form and natural attitude of each—I shod. be glad to receive half a dozen of the horns also.

You will likewise, it seems, find another new animal, and which appears to be of the Goat-kind. The hair on the back and belly is white; on the flanks it is reddish. Two *complete* skins of *both* sexes of this quadruped, to be aflds. stuffed like those of the former, would be very desirable.

Wishing you all imaginable Success, and hoping to hear frequently from you, I remain

Sir,

Your very obedient Servt. and
Well-wisher

G. (?) Turner⁶ (rubric)

P.S.

Since writing this, your favour of the same date was put into my hands. In a letter to Mr Trudeau⁷, I had before mentioned you particularly to him, and also your desire to take a companion. This, I doubt not, will receive the commandant's approbation.—Present my best compliments to Mr Trudeau & family

[To]

Mr. John T Evans

⁶There is a Benjamin Turner listed among the American residents in the Illinois in 1787. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 422, 444.

⁷Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor of the Spanish Illinois.

DOCUMENT NUMBER III⁸

Cahokia* 18th August 1795

Dr Sir

Your intended journey Will Separate us for a long time but altho' at a Distance we may find ways and means of Communicating and giving intelligence the one to the other. Which I am in hopes will be always in your memory. My Level & your Square must strike the Necessary Ballance and Best Rules in the World be the Guide amongst friends. Persuaded of a Continuation of this Nature between you and me, which (and other friendships) induces me to sub'scribe myself

Sincerely Yours

Wm Arundel¹⁰

(rubric)

Mr. J. The Evans

Addressed to

Mr. J. T. Evans
Cahokia

DOCUMENT NUMBER IV

Copy¹¹ of a letter written by Mr. McKaye¹², General Agent of the Company, dated 24th of October last, from the

⁸This is an original letter written in English. It is in the Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213.

⁹Cahokia was on the left bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis. See Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (edited by F. H. Hodder, Cleveland, 1906). For an account of the history of Cahokia see C. W. Alvord (ed.) *Cahokia Records (Illinois Historical Collections Volume II)*; Springfield, 1907; and Alvord, *Illinois Country*.

¹⁰On William Arundel see Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, consult index; and *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 158, 163, 166, 167, 173, 195, 198, 224, 742, 743.

¹¹Original or contemporary copy, unsigned, in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

¹²James Mackay. See A. P. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December, 1929), and the introductory article concerning Evans, preceding these documents.

village of Otocata¹³ at the entrance of the Platte River, to Messrs. Clamorgan¹⁴ and Reylhe¹⁵, Directors at St. Louis.

I arrived here the 14th of this month after travelling for 44 days.¹⁶ I have been held up by the bad weather and the fact that one of the boats in my convoy leaked all the time. I shall still be held up by these things on my way to the Mahas.

I must recommend to you never to overload your barges or carriages, and always to place them in charge of capable conductors. I should not have to tell you how desirable it is to have a person who is very familiar with the savages to remain in charge of your operations at the post of the Mahas.¹⁷ You know that it is an important post for the new trade and for the communications with the Montanas. I have just been informed by the Othos that the boat (pirogue) which left last April to go to the Mandanes¹⁸ with goods consigned to Truteau

¹³Otocata are the Oto Indians. See F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30, Washington, 1912).

¹⁴On Jaques Clamorgan and the Missouri Company see *Ibid.*, *supra*, fn. 2, both references.

¹⁵Rhelle was a co-director of the Missouri Company. For some scattering bits of information concerning him, see Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908) and by the same author, *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909). Consult indexes.

¹⁶This would place the date of his departure from St. Louis at about the first of September. There have been some divergent opinions concerning the date of Mackay's departure from St. Louis. Mackay states in his *Journal* that he left about the end of August, 1795. Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2364, translated in Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 183. This date is also corroborated in Trudeau's letter to Carondelet, St. Louis, August 30, 1795: "La compagnie de commerce de la nation Mandana au haut Missouri vient de faire partir sa troisième expédition composée de trente-trois hommes bien munis." Papeles de Cuba, legajo 211. André Michaux states, "I was informed at Illinois that Mackey, a Scotchman, and Even (Evans), a Welshman, started at the end of July, 1795, from St. Louis to ascend the Missouri." *Travels in Kentucky*, entry for December 11, 1795, in R. G. Thwaites (editor) *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904) III, 79-80. Carlos Howard said the expedition left in July. Howard to Carondelet, St. Louis, May 13, 1797. Ms. in Bancroft Library. Trudeau, in a letter to Carondelet, July 15, 1795, said the expedition would leave the fifteenth of August. Translated by the writer in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV, 70. Clamorgan stated the expedition would leave in July. Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 176.

¹⁷Omaha.

¹⁸Mandans. On the Mandan see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, and Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Missouri," *op. cit.*, and references there given. Some additional information can also be found in Nasatir,

and that Lequie¹⁹, the conductor, is among the Poncas where the goods were robbed. Breda²⁰, whom you sent after him, will have arrived too late to be of any use and to recapture them.

If the company is to continue its commerce in these distant countries you absolutely have to have the village of the Othos in your power, otherwise your boats will always be plundered each year. I promised them that you would build a fort²¹ next year to protect them against their enemies and that they would have many rifles for their hunt, because they complain that they will not get a fourth of what they need. I hope that you will not make me pass for a liar in connection with these two promises, because the first one apparently designed as a favor to them will actually serve to hold them down, and the second one cannot be separated from our interests. I have undertaken this obligation towards them on condition that they would behave towards the employees which you would send there and the carriages which are to go up to the Mandanes. They have decided on the place where they want the fort to be built at the entrance to the Platte River, and where they intend to place their village. The location will be advantageous. The clerk whom I left there in charge of trading with them will keep you informed of their conduct and of the means of bringing them around to our interests. If by accident the Othos do not keep their word and misbehave, deprive them next year of all aid. We will gain a lot by this, and we will prove to them that they depend absolutely upon the Company's will for their needs, and that if we fail them they are not to count upon the help of the other traders who usually lie to them and seek their own interests, but remember that if they behave well you must fulfill my promise. You cannot imagine how difficult it is to

"Jaques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri" and "Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV, 49-70, and C. E. Deland, "Aborigines of South Dakota: Mandans" (South Dakota Historical Collections).

¹⁹Lecuyer, see Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier", *op. cit.*

²⁰On Breda, see *Ibid.*

²¹Fort Charles was located about six miles below the present site of Omaha, Nebraska.

pass this nation, in spite of the presents that we have to make to it, the chiefs have no authority and the people are so backward that they cannot be moved by a consideration of their own interests. They complain that Motardi²², Quenel and the other traders who came to them for several years told them so many lies, deceived them so often, and made so many promises which were never fulfilled, that they never want to believe anything more without being shown. To tell the truth, they are in a sort of anarchy which will cause them to become dangerous enemies to the entire commerce of upper Missouri if this post continues being open as usual each year to all kinds of traders who are concerned only for immediate profits without bothering about the future.

I am more or less satisfied with my convoy, but I would have liked you to give me better interpreters to the Mahas. Many of those who are believed at St. Louis to be quite familiar with the savages and who bank on that to cut a figure in the Illinois, turn out to be as children when they get here. We need good and clever interpreters.

If the Government, as well as the business men, does not take steps to secure the continuation of trade in the Missouri by forbidding entrance to those who are likely to violate the regulations, this country will be lost forever, both to His Majesty and to his subjects. Foreign trade on one hand and the bad behavior of our traders on the other are enough to cause these nations to rebel continuously. It will only take a year to lose them, but no one knows how many it will take to reestablish order.

The Othos²³ desire that I retain the clerk whom I left with them for the trade. He seems very popular, consequently he would be better able than anybody else to win them over to our views in having them protect the passage of carriages in the upper Missouri, which are endangered by the continuous presence of various strong parties that are hunting all along the river and which will remain there to intercept

²²Pedro Montardy? Concerning him see Nasatir, "Jaques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri," *op. cit.*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV, 48, and note.

²³Oto.

our communications when they will be prompted by their customary tendencies to commit evil now that they know about our new undertaking. If the Government does not grant you the Othos, as being the key position of our destined interests, you will absolutely have to buy them from their owners, if, however, you think that we can bear this extra expense; otherwise we shall withdraw as well as we can from the field of discoveries and abandon things early rather than too late.

In case the Government's favor extends to the point where we will be able to control the needs of all the nations which we have to cross, do not fail to send at least two stone-throwers to the clerk of the Othos to reinforce the fort which you will build there. This will please the nation inasmuch as they will feel that they are a protection against their enemies.

27th of October, 8 leagues up the
River Platte.

This morning six men employed by the Company came to me from the Poncas.²⁴ They were a part of the crew of the convoy led by Lecuye. Antoine Breda, whom you sent after him, arrived too late to help it. This fall the Poncas killed a Ris²⁵ who was coming with a message. I am afraid that I shall have much trouble in crossing that nation next spring to arrive at my destination. The accident which has just happened to our goods has absolutely broken up our assortments, and I don't see how I can replace them.

Tabeau,²⁶ one of the high men in Lecuye's carriage, should not only lose his salary but be severely punished as an example for the future. He is an infamous rascal. Lecuye, the con-

²⁴Ponca. The Ponca Villages were situated two leagues above the mouth of the Qui-Court or Niobrara River and about one league from the Missouri. Annie H. Abel (editor) "Trudeau's (Truteau's) Description of the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VIII, 162-163. See also, "Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau on the Upper Missouri, Première Partie, June 7, 1794—March 26, 1795," in *American Historical Review*, XIX, 308, 332. Perrin du Lac, *Voyages dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris, 1805) 210; and R. G. Thwaites (editor) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, (Cleveland, 1904) I, 29.

²⁵Ris are Arickara Indians.

²⁶Tabeau, See Thwaites, *Original Journals*, op. cit.

ductor, who has had no less than two women since he arrived among the Poncas, has given away a large number of things belonging to the Company, as you will see in the report which I have received and which I am sending to you.

My task is difficult, but I am not losing courage. Next spring I shall inform you of all that I have done. I am²⁷, etc.

DOCUMENT NUMBER V²⁸

Instructions, given to Jean Evans for crossing this continent in order to discover a passage from the sources of the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean, following the orders of the Director of the company,²⁹ Don St. Yago Clamorgan³⁰ under the protection of his excellency Mr. Gv. the Baron de Carondelet, Governor-General of the Province of Louisiana, and Mr. Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Illinois.

During the time of your absence from this place and during your journey to reach the Pacific Ocean or any other place, you will observe the following instructions:

Art. 1.

From the time of your departure from this fort until your return to the place where I will be living on the Missouri, you will keep a journal of each day and month of the year to avoid any error in the observations of the important journey which you are undertaking. In your journal you will place all that will be remarkable in the latitude, longitude, when you can observe it, also the winds and weather. You will also keep another journal in which you will make note of all the minerals; vegetables; timber; rocks; flint-stone; territory; production; animals; game; reptiles; lakes; rivers; mountains; portages,

²⁷It is without a signature.

²⁸Contemporary account in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. It is written in French.

²⁹The Missouri Company. For an account of its activities on the Missouri, see A. P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Missouri" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1929—March, 1930.

³⁰Jacques Clamorgan.

with their extent and location; and the different fish and shellfish which the waters may contain. You will insert in the same journal all that may be remarkable and interesting, particularly the different nations; their numbers, manners, customs, government, sentiments, language, religion, and all other circumstances relative to their manner of living.

Art. 2.

You will take care to mark down your route and distance each day, whether by land or water; in case you will be short of ink, use the powder, and for want of powder, in the summer you will surely find some fruit whose juice can replace both.

Art. 3.

In your route from here to the home of the Ponca, trace out as exactly as possible a general route and distance from the Missouri as well as the rivers which come out of it; and although you cannot take the direction of each turn and current of the Missouri, since you go by land, you can mark the general course of the mountains which will be parallel to each bank. You will observe the same thing for every other landmark which you may see during your journey, whether river, lake, ocean, or chain of mountains which may affect your observations.

Art. 4.

Be very accurate in your observations concerning the nations, their size, the performance, and the productions.

Art. 5.

Mr. Trutau,³¹ our private agent whom you will find among the Ricara³² and [or?] Mandanes,³³ will give you what you are bound to need. You will consult with him on the most practical route and he will give you guides that he will obtain from the nations where he will be.

³¹Jean Baptiste Truteau. For an account of this schoolmaster's activities in the service of the Missouri Company, see Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier" *op. cit.*

³²Arickara. See F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*; and C. E. Deland, "Aborigines of South Dakota: Rees" (*South Dakota Historical Collections*.)

³³Mandan. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, and C. E. Deland "Aborigines of South Dakota: Mandan" (*South Dakota Historical Coll.*)

Art. 6.

You will take for provisions on your route some well-skinned dried meat, which is very nourishing and a very little quantity satisfies your appetite as well as your fancy. Always lay up some provisions and keep them for a small reserve.

Art. 7.

You will take heed not to fall in with some parties of savages, where there are neither women nor children, as they are almost always on the warpath. It will not be prudent to appear at any nation if you can avoid it, unless the warriors are not in their villages; and in spite of this be well on your guard. In camping in the valleys, you will never fire any gun except in case of necessity; you will never cut wood except with a knife unless it should be strictly necessary; you will never build a fire without a true need and you will avoid having the smoke seen from afar if it is possible; you will not camp too early and will always leave before daybreak; you will always be on guard against ambushes and will always have your arms in good condition, changing the tinder evening and morning, and you will never separate them from you nor place them in the hands of the savages. When you will see some nations, raise your flag a long way off as a sign of peace and never approach without speaking to them from a distance. When you will enter a village, stop and ground arms at a small distance from where they come to receive and conduct you. Appear always on guard and never be fearful nor timid, for the savages are not generally fearless, but will act in a manner to make you afraid of them. If, however, they see that you are courageous and venturesome they will soon yield to your wishes. You will recollect that the pipe is the symbol of peace and that when they have smoked with you there is no longer any danger; nevertheless you must beware of treason.

On all occasions be reserved with your detachment as well as with the savages; always give to your conduct the air of importance and show good will toward everyone white or red.

You will carry with you some merchandise, consisting of various small articles suitable for new nations, in order to make

presents to the savages which you will discover; but you must be careful of your generosity in this even as in all other things which you carry and bring with you, seeing that the time of your return is uncertain.

Say to the savages whom you will meet on your route that the white people, who come to meet them and to tell of our company, still have many other kinds of merchandise for them. If they wish to trap some beaver and otter in order to obtain skins to exchange for whatever they need, then it is necessary to show them the process of stretching and cleaning them in the same way as all other kinds of peltry are treated.

If you discover some animals which are unknown to us, you will see that you procure some of this kind, alive if possible. There is, they say, on the long ridge of the Rockies which you will cross to go to the Pacific Ocean, an animal which has no horns on its forehead. Be very particular in the description which you will make of it and every time you can, you will procure one of this kind.

When you will have crossed the sources of the Missouri and will have gone beyond the Rockies, you will keep as far as possible within the bounds of the 40th degree of north latitude until you will find yourself nearly within the 111th to 112th degree of longitude west meridian of London. Then you will take a northerly direction to the 42nd degree latitude, while always keeping the same longitude in order to avoid the waters which probably would dwindle away within California. This might induce you to take a route away from the Pacific Ocean. After all, you cannot travel over so great an expanse of land without finding some nations which can inform you to rivers which go toward the setting sun. Then you will build some canoes to descend these rivers, and will watch carefully since there may be some water falls on them which can entrap you. The distance in longitude from the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean ought not to be above 290 leagues, perhaps less, which condition makes it necessary for the rivers to be very rapid or else to have great falls, in comparison with the distance which exists between the sources of the Missouri which runs over a space of about 1000 leagues to come to the sea by passing by the Mississippi whose waters

are very violent. Thus it is true every time that this ridge of mountains serves to divide the waters of the west from those of the east.

Mark your route in all places where there will be a portage to pass from one river to another or from one water-fall to another by cutting or notching some trees or by some piles of stones engraved and cut, and take care to place in large letters Charles III King of Spain and below Company of the Missouri, the day, the month, and the year and you will do it to serve as unquestionable proof of the journey that you are going to make.

There is on the coast of the Pacific Ocean a Russian Settlement that they say is to the north of California but there is reason to believe that it is not the only one and that the nations of the interior of the continent ought to have knowledge of it. Then, when you will have discovered the places that they inhabit, you will cease to make any sign of taking possession, for fear of having spring up with these strangers any jealousy which would be prejudicial to the success of your journey. You will not neglect any interesting observation on the sea-shore and, although there may be some things which do not appear to merit the least attention, nevertheless, in a journey of this nature everything on the way is of great importance. Do not fail to measure the rise of the sea in its ebb and flow.

As soon as you will have visited the sea-shore sufficiently, you will return from it immediately, with as much vigilance as you can to this place, or to the spot where I may be at the time, whether at the home of the Mandanes or elsewhere. You will take steps to return by a route contrary to that which you have taken on your way out if you believe it practical, but mind that if you find the route by which you will have passed rather straight and easy for traveling by water in a canoe or other craft, it will be wiser to return by the same route, and, in case there are portages to make from one river to another or from one rapids to another, see whether the place permits the forming of a settlement.

If, however, you are obliged to search for a new passage to return here from the sea-shore, you will return from any

latitude where you may be when you will take your point of departure to 45 degrees north latitude, and on your entire route examine the most penetrable and practicable for strangers to the north country in order to give an account of the means of forming a settlement and fort there to prevent their coming into this territory.

On your journey you will not forget to tell every nation that you will discover, that their great father, Spain, who is protector of all the white and red men, has sent you to tell them that he has heard of them and their needs and that, desiring to make them happy, he wishes to open a communication to them in order to secure for them their necessities; and that for this purpose, it is necessary that all the red skins be peaceful in order that the whites can come to see them; and that, instead of making war, he wishes rather that they would slaughter meat with which to feed their women and children.

In your orders be strict with your detachment and take care that no offense is committed against the nations which you pass, especially by the Conackon, as they can solicit the women in marriage, a thing which is ordinarily the origin of dissatisfaction and discord with the savages.

Whereas the journey is of very great importance not only to his Catholic Majesty, his subjects, and especially for the company, but even the universe since it ought to open a communication of intercourse through this continent, it requires the clearest evidence to prove the truth of everything and to leave no doubt on the assurance of this discovery.

Take care, above all, to bring with you a collection of the products of the sea-shore: animals, vegetables, minerals, and other curious things that you can find, especially some skins of sea-otters and other sea animals and shell-fish which cannot be found in fresh water; a portion of each will be an unquestionable proof of your journey to the sea-shore; but, if you can find there any civilized people who wish to give you an affidavit of your journey in whatever language they speak, this will be an additional proof of the validity of your journey.

If on your return, God has disposed of me or I have left the place of my residence on the Missouri, you will not deliver nor show to anyone that this is anything relative to your dis-

coveries, but you will go immediately to St. Louis to deliver all your papers, plans, charts, and journals to Monsieur Clamorgan, Director of the Company. In case he is dead or absent you will deliver them to whoever will represent him at the time, but in the presence of Monsieur Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor, or any other who should represent him, keeping before you a copy of each thing to be removed and sent to the said Monsieur Zenon Trudeau by a trustworthy way; this always in case Monsieur Zenon and Clamorgan should be dead or absent.

(Signed)

Mackay.

Fort Charles³⁴, January 28, 1796.

DOCUMENT NUMBER VI³⁵

Ft Charles³⁶, Missouri Feby 19th 1796

Mr Evans

I have found the time tedious since you left this [*place*] notwithstanding my being constantly employed about some trip [?] or other, however, I begin to get accustomed to live Solitary³⁷ I dare say that in the course of some time hence I shall be happy alone as the Indian on the desert.

I suppose that by this time you are busy at your c[ommunic]ations & preparations for your voyage that is to say if the [?] Poncas do not prevent your writing--If you cannot ge[t *there*] in the Spring by water you will try to go by land & when you get to the ricaras you will enquire respect-

³⁴Fort Charles was located six miles below the present site of Omadi, Nebraska.

³⁵Original letter written in English and to be found in Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213. The side of this letter is torn or has been eaten away by pollilla worm. Question marks and letters in italics indicate those portions of the letter which have been torn or pollilla eaten.

³⁶Fort Charles, Mackay's wintering place, was located six miles below the present site of Omadi, Nebraska.

³⁷Mackay did not marry until years afterwards when he was commandante of the post of San Andre du Missouri.

ing the navigation of the [?] south fork Jaque³⁸ tells me that it is shallow at the m[outh] if you should find that the navigation of the fork is difficult you better go to the Mandans where there is a river a few leag[ues] higher that falls into the Missuri from the S West. This river is called river de Roche Jaune or the river of the Yellow Stone it is said to afford Good navigation & comes directly from the Stony mountains but it is hard to say whether it communicates with the waters of the west. I enclose you a Scetch of the Description given to Jacque by the Indians, reveal your Plans & projects to no one whatever not even to Mr Truteau³⁹ except what is necessary to forward your expedition & and for your information you will at all events try to see the white people on the Coast if it should answer no other purpose than that of corresponding by letters it will be of great service as it will open the way for a further discovery.

it is probable you will meet European vessels on the coast who trade to the East Indians there are also vessels trading to that Coast from the United States of America, all these gentlemen or any of them that you may have the chance to meet, will (I am confident) oblige us by giving you some assistance in case you should want it, as also the most interesting news of the countries they have visited since they left their respective homes, & you will tell them that if they have letters to send to Europe or to America that I will take the greatest [care] in forwarding them with particular attention to their addr[ess]

Send me the particulars of what passes at the Poncas whatever you may learn from up the river.

Tell I⁴⁰ Scarlet & Tollibois [?] & any other that m[ay] go with you, that I hope they will not disappoint [me] in the confidence I have in their Conduct & persevera[nce?]

³⁸The "Jaque" referred to here is Jacques D'Eglise, concerning whom see, Nasatir, "Jacques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV, 47ff., and Lansing B. Bloom, "The Death of Jacques D'Eglise" in *New Mexico Historical Review*, II, 369-379. The information concerning D'Eglise given here is supplementary to the material concerning him published in the two articles cited above.

³⁹Jean Baptiste Truteau.

⁴⁰Or "J".

wishing you & them a prosperous voya[ge] & happy return

I am with the best wishes for your

Your Sincere friend

J. Mackay (rubric)

I send you a letter for Dennis which I found the other day in my trunk Jaque Deglise's compliments to Mr Truteau
[Addressed to] Mr John Evans

You will tell Mr Truteau to send me an Inventory of what good remains with him this spring so that I may be able to judge what is best to take up & what Quantity. Tell him also to tell all the nations that I am coming up to that country to see them if the Sioux do not stop the passage.

You will give Jaque Deglise's compliments to Nourrow who is at the ricaras & tell him that Jaque wants him to come down with the Company's cajons in the spring to help him up with his goods next summer

J. M.⁴¹

As I mean to make Sunday (being a remarkable day) the day for observing the distance of the moon from the sun I wish you to do the same when convenient so that we may be the better able to compare them when you return. I will always make my observations when the sun is on the meridian which will of course give the just time of day. You may draw a meridian line by the north star if you should be a couple of days in one place & if the sky be clear at night if this cannot be you may take it by the compass if you know exactly the variation.⁴²

EXTRACTS OF MR EVANS JOURNAL⁴³

8.th June 1796 After having received from Mr James McKay Agent of the Missouri Company the necessary Instructions, as well as men, Provisions And Merchandizes, I

⁴¹Initials only but with Mackay's rubric.

⁴²End of letter.

⁴³Copied from the Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceed. 63rd, 1915, pp. 195-200. The Editor.

sat off from the Missouri Company's Establishment at the Maha Village, to ascend the Missouri as far as the Pacific Ocean—After a long and fatiguing voyage I arrived the 8th August following at the Village of the *Rik,ka,ras* on the South Side of the Missouri, 250 leagues above the Mahas, I here met with some difficulties to get along, the *Rik,karas* would not permit me to pass their Village and carry my Goods to those nations that reside above them, they said, they were themselves in want of Goods &c. finding then that all my Efforts were in vain, to get on, I was obliged to stay among them. Some Weeks after my arrival, several Indians of different nations particularly the *Caneenawees* and *Shayenns* habitants of the Rocky Mountains, came to the village to see me their Chief in a very long and prolix discourse expressed to me the joy they felt to see the Whites, they assured me of their Love And Attachment for their Great father the Spaniard and for all his children who Came in their Country. Judging it necessary for the better insuring the success of my enterprise to take Possession of the fort built at the Mandaine Village by the English Traders of Canada, I succeeded in persuading the *Rikaras* to let me go so far as there with a few Goods. The 23 Sept. I arrived at the Mandaine Village which is situated about 10 leagues above the *Rikara* on the Same Side (south) of the Missouri, there I was visited by the *Munitarees* and *Wattassoons* whose villages are only a league above those of the Mandaines, those nations as well as the Mandaines received me very cordially. I gave their Chiefs in the name of their Great Father the Spaniard, who inhabits the other Side of the great lake and in the name of the Great Chief who inhabits this Side of the great Lake and also in the name of the Chief who resides at the Entrance of the Missouri, the Flags and Medals that were given me for that purpose by Mr McKay. Besides those medals & flags I made some small presents, which were received with the greatest of Satisfaction and testified their acknowledgment in the most expressive manner, promising to observe the most sincere attachment to their great father the Spaniard and his Chiefs, who have Sent to them from so far, their children the Whites with such great marks of their Esteem and of their Charity for the Red People;

they added that they would hear what I had to say and had sent to all their Brothers, and that hereafter they would follow my Counsels on all occasions—The 28th September in Conformity to the orders I had, I took possession of the English fort belonging to the Canada Traders, and I instantly hoisted the Spanish flag which seemed very much to please the Indians—

The 8.th of October arrived Several men at the Mandaine Village belonging to the Canada Traders that I have above mentioned, they had brought Some Goods with them, not having a Sufficiency of men I did not strive to oppose their arrival, nor of their goods: I nevertheless found a means to hinder their Trade and some days after absolutely forced them to leave the Mandane Territory, I sent by them in the North the Declaration that I had received of Mr McKay: forbidding all strangers whatever to enter on any part of his Catholic Majesty's Dominions in this Quarter under any pretext whatever—The 13th March 1797 Arrived at the Mandaine Village from the North, a man named *Jussom*⁴ accompanied by several Engagees he was sent by the English traders, with Merchandizes as presents, for the Mandaines and neighbouring nations, so as to be able to break off the Attachment & fidelity they had promised to his Majesty and his Subjects, the said *Jussom* and those who Accompanied him advised the Indians to enter into my house under the Mask of friendship, then to kill me and my men and pillage my property; several of the Good Chiefs who were my friends & to whom *Jussom* had offered presents; refused them with indignation and shuddered at the thought of such a horrid Design and came and informed me of the Whole. Nevertheless the presents that *Jussom* had made to the Indians had tempted some of

Editor's Note: Footnotes 4, 5 and 6 appear as editorial notes to the *Evans Journal*, as first edited and published in the *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings*. They are not a part of the series of notes added by the present editor,—hence the lack of continuity in numbering.

⁴Rene Jossaume, best known, perhaps, by reason of his later connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition. He spent a long life on the upper Missouri, and is usually painted, as here, in an unfavorable light by the explorers who speak of him. Nevertheless he won, to a certain extent, the esteem of Clark, who offered to become his partner in a small way in the fur trade.

the inferior class, who joined him to execute his Abominable Design, happily for me his presents had not the same Effect with some of the Principal Chiefs, to undertake Such an enormous crime, therefore many of those chiefs Came to my house to guard me and were resolved to die in the attack if any should be made; this Resolution disconcerted entirely my enemies and totally put an End to their infamous Design. Some Days after *Jussom* came to my house with a number of his Men, and seizing the moment that my Back was turned to him, tried to discharge a Pistol at my head loaded with Deer Shot but my Interpreter having perceived his design hindered the Execution—The Indians immediately dragged him out of my house and would have killed him, had not I prevented them—this man having refused me Satisfaction for all the Insults he had given me, Moreover disgusted on the ill success of the Execution of his Black Designs, left the Mandanes with his men some days after and returned to his people in the North and bring them the News of his Ill success—I found out by all I could learn that the Intentions of the British Traders were Not to spare trouble or Expence to maintain a Fort at the Mandaine Village Not that they see the least appearance of a Benefit with the Mandanes but carry their views further, they wish to open a trade by the Missouri with the Nations who inhabit the Rocky Mountains, a Trade, that at this Moment is Supposed to be the best on the Continent of America.—The general Course of the Missouri from the Maha Nation to the Mandaines is near about North West, it runs for the greatest part of this space, on a Rocky Bottom & Gravel, it is Shut up like on Each side by a chain of Rocky Mountains and of Sand, which in some places coming so near to one another reduces the Breadth of the River to about 500 toises.⁵ The Land on both sides of the River is at one time Mountainous & barren and at other times even & fertile, but in the Back part a tree can hardly be found. The best Quality of Land is found in the Mandaine Country, this quality of Land extends itself on the West as far as the East chain of the Rocky Mountains which are about

⁵The toise is a French linear measure equal to 6.395 English feet.

170 league to the West of the Mandaines, it is at these Mountains where the great Meadows And Prairies terminate the Country then begins to be Absolutely Covered with trees even upon the Rocky Mountains and it is probable these woods extend to the Pacific Ocean—The Country from the Mandaines to the Rocky Mountains is well watered by different Rivers that empty themselves in the Missouri, particularly from the South West, many of these Rivers are navigable for Boats of one or two tons burthen, The largest of these Rivers is the Riviere Blanche (White River) Whose mouth is About 80 leagues above the Mahas the River *Shayenn* 70 leagues higher—The River LaBombe⁶ about 65 leagues higher And the Yellow Stone River (Riviere des Roches Jaunes) about 120 leagues further and about 80 leagues above the Mandaines, all these Rivers Come from S. W. of Missouri and there is also a River that comes from the N. W. and which joins the Missouri near the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, They call it Riviere dufoin (hay river) they say it is a large and fine River in which there is More Beaver and Otters than in any other part of the Continent.

Mr. Evans measured the Missouri near the Village of the Mandaines And he found it 500 toises large, which confirms me in my opinion that the Sources of the Missouri is much further off then what it is imagined, although the Indians Who inhabit at the foot of the Rocky Mountains have but a Confused Idea of the upper parts of the Missouri; Nevertheless after all the Information I could collect, it appears that the Missouri takes it source in abt the 40th deg North latitude from Whence it Runs to the North (between the chains of the Rocky Mountains) as far as the 49th deg. latitude that thence running East, it falls over the East chain of the Mountains in the great plains across which it runs to the East till it reaches the Mandaines—There is no other fall, in the whole Course of the Missouri, but where it falls over the Rocky Mountains, in the plains, as I have said before. This fall it is Said, is of an astonishing height, from the Situation of the Country and the Menaders of the River I Suppose this fall

⁶Possibly modern Cannon Ball River.

to be 200 leagues West of the Mandaines. Among the innumerable Numbers of different animals found on the Rocky Mountains, there is one that is really an Object of curiosity, it is near about the height of an Elk, its hair is like to that of a fallow Deer or Buck, it carries its horn like those of a Ram, but turned in a spiral form like a trumpet and of an immense size, some have been found of 8 Inches Diameter in their thickest part. This Animal lives but about 10 or 12 years, by reason of their horns, that advance foremost, as they grow and which at length so much surpasses the mouth as to hinder the Animal from eating Grass, which is its only food, so that he becomes obliged to die for hunger—The Indians make Spoons Cups &c of the horns, some of the latter are so large as to contain a Sufficiency to satisfy the Appetite of 4 men at a meal—There are also found on the Rocky Mountains, Ermines, and a kind of Wild Cat, whose skin is of a great Beauty, it is spotted as that of a Leopard; it is probable there are in those Unknown Regions many other kinds of Animals which are not found in the other different parts of America. As to the manners and Customs of the Indians I found they differ but little one from the other. In the different parts of the Continent across which I voyaged, all that I could remark was, that the nations who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Whites (being yet in a State of Nature) were of a softer and better Character. Whilst those who have frequent Communications with the Whites appeared to have contracted their vices Without having taken any of their virtues.

DOCUMENT NUMBER VII⁴⁴

My Lord:⁴⁵

I have had the very great honor of receiving your letter dated February 15th last, in which you had the kindness of conveying to me the interest which you take in the success of

⁴⁴Original letter in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

⁴⁵Concerning the points raised in this letter see the present writer's "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri 1790-1804" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI; and his forthcoming articles entitled, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi 1786-1796" and "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country 1795-1797", both to appear in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

the Missouri Company. The aid which Your Excellency has been so generous as to solicit from the Court on our behalf will help us bear the immense expenditures entailed by our having to make frequent gifts to the various nations in order to obtain from them free passage for our boats. The militias which we shall maintain in our forts of Missouri and beyond being paid by the government shall assist in preventing foreign raids on His Majesty's territory, where the bold ambition of these foreigners usurps from us our business and our property.

So far only Fort Maha and Fort Ricara are finished. Next June we hope to receive word as to the construction of the ones of the Mandanes and of the Poncas. Our Agent-General, Mr. Mackay, during his passage among the Otocatos promised them a fort for next fall so that they might have protection against their enemies. This promise, which ought to be sacred, will be kept in due time. Otherwise we should fall into the same discredit as the traders who were there before us. At that time we shall have five large forts which will require that the government give us some artillery and five royal standards to foster among the foreigners and the nations respect for His Majesty's flag.

Mr. Mackay would like to be commissioned Commandant of the forts we are going to establish in Missouri so that he will be clothed with greater authority in his mission to repulse all foreigners who may be so bold as to penetrate the territory of our government. I hope that you will deign to grant him this request.

We need medals for the five Mandane villages, for the two Ricara villages, and for the Cheyenne and Sioux Indians who live with them. We should also like to have some for the Ponca village which we shall give only when the Chief of the Mahas deems it wise, because this Chief who causes himself to be named "the Prince of the Nations" has great influence over his neighbors. That is why we shower gifts on him in order to render him favorable to our views. Not satisfied with the presents Mr. Mackay brought to him last fall, he has just caused the aforesaid Mackay to send us a boat to get the things which he needed. In consequence we sent, eight days ago, a carriage and nine men with what he asked

for. This expedition which was a total loss as far as we are concerned, adds a very cruel sum to our expenses, and besides, it does not dispense us from sending him the fine present which he is expecting next autumn. You will admit that it requires boldness and courage to use all means and stop at nothing in order to cause our Western discoveries to succeed. As far as I am concerned, I shall be happy and satisfied if the perseverance which I have always encouraged in my partners serves one day to attest to the purity of my zeal and the integrity of my principles.

The powerful House of Todd, established in England and Canada and with which you have contracted to form a branch of New Orleans, has been through my offices a supply-house for the Company. The interests of both have always been very closely allied so that we need not apprehend that our plans be thwarted. I have made free use on behalf of my partners and myself of the advances which it has been prodigal of. I have exposed my reputation, my credit, and my fortune in causing each member to keep up his hopes so that we would not retrogress on a path which is so interesting to pursue. Today I hope more than ever to keep up with glory a labor which will be useful to posterity provided, however, that the Company be always fortunate enough to deserve your generous help.

To come back to the House of Todd, I should tell you that when Mr. Todd came here last fall he brought his interests into close relationship with mine. I have made engagements with his house in such a manner that I will never lack supplies. We are going to be known, beginning with the first of May next, under the trade name of Clamorgan and Loisel. This was put through at the time when I urged Mr. Todd to establish a branch at New Orleans in order to facilitate our subsequent operations.

Today, in order to conform to your desires and to induce the House of Todd to be even more useful and favorable to the Missouri Company, I have tried to persuade several of our members to deal with the House of Todd instead of the ones with which they have been dealing up to now in Canada for the merchandise which they needed in our expedition of

discovery. Several of them being opposed to this, I felt called upon to ask you, as Director of this Company, to require each member of the Company to secure his supplies from the branch house which Mr. Todd will establish either at New Orleans or St. Louis, so that the fur traders who will be the result of this new industry will cease sending their furs to Europe through foreign channels, because we should not be ungrateful to our Capital which henceforward will send us through the House of Todd and Company all the merchandise which we need at a reduced cost; at the same time we ought to allow employees and explorers from Canada, otherwise we shall lack people here for our expeditions.

Will you be so kind also as to send me an order so that either Mr. Todd or his agents here may have an interest in the Company, because one of the articles of our constitution prevents me from doing so on my own authority and the opposition of one member alone is sufficient to prevent any body from being admitted. It is certain that the reason for our going so slowly with our undertaking was our inability in the beginning to make large sacrifices so that all the nations might have free communication with others which are more distant. Please authorize me to make all the advances and disbursements necessary to speed up our explorations. I shall not require the members to repay me for my advance until returns are available.

I have nothing to solicit of your kindness as far as the Des Moines River is concerned in view of the fact that your contract with Mr. Todd renders conditions for me and my Company almost the same as if you had granted my request. However, a fort is necessary at the mouth of the St. Pierre River, otherwise the House of Todd will suffer great injury from the traders who come there from Michillimackinac.

One important thing which I am sure Mr. Todd has not provided for is that of obtaining from your favor exclusive trading privileges with the Sac and Renard nations who inhabit the eastern bank of the Mississippi about two hundred leagues from here to the north and who can be induced to come on this side to hunt. As this hunt is likely to spread down below the Missouri, please be so kind as to grant to my Society

the exclusive right to induce them to come on this bank and to trade alone with them, either below or above and even in the interior of Missouri.

A finger which I broke lately prevents me from having the honor of writing to you any more about it but does not allow me to dispense with assuring you of the respectful sentiments with which I take the liberty of calling myself,

My Lord,

Your most humble, your most submissive,
and your most obliged servant,

J. Clamorgan.

St. Genevieve, April 10, 1796.

DOCUMENT NUMBER VIII⁴⁶

River Tremblante 8 Oct 1796

Mr Evans

Sir

As I find by Mr James Mackays letter that the Mississourie [*sic*] is Chartered by a Company I wish to withdraw what little property the N. W. Co.⁴⁷ has their, indeed it has been my wish for some time past as we have lost a good deal of money by Mr Gousseau⁴⁸ whom we have employed in that business. I therefore beg you will be kind enough to deliver the bearer all the property of whatever kind belonging to the said Gousseau that may be in your possession, he has wrote you himself to that effect he is to pass some time here himself to settle his affairs but means to return to the Mississourie in course of next month I am very much obliged to you

⁴⁶Original sealed letter written in English. Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213.

⁴⁷Northwest Company.

⁴⁸Rene Jusseau was an interpreter to Thompson and to Lewis and Clark. There are numerous references to his career. See G. C. Davidson, *The Northwest Company* (Berkeley, 1918) 47, 93; L. J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea* (London, 1908) 353-358; Thwaites, *Original Journals*, *passim*, and Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier", *op. cit.* A letter of Jusseau to President Jefferson is printed in *Missouri Historical Collections*, IV, 234-236. See also the succeeding documents.

for your kindness in lending a man to Mr Mackay⁴⁹ as this is the last time any of our people will go that way I hope you will be kind enough to give your assistance in getting away the men who has deserted from us in that quarter and should any of your people ever come this way you may depend upon it they shall be delivered up to you I hope you will be so good as send me an acct. of everything you will deliver the men belonging to Gousseaume and you will oblige

Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

Cuthbert Grant⁵⁰ (rubric)

Addressed to

Mr Evans

at the Mandan Village
Mississourie

DOCUMENT NUMBER IX⁵¹

Brandon House⁵² 23 Novbr 1796

Dear Sir

Your written declaration dated Fort Charles⁵³ the 27th of May last, prohibiting all British Subjects from trading to the Missourie, has come to our hands. This may effect the Traders from Canada⁵⁴ a little but nothing those from Hudsons Bay—I should however be glad to know if we may upon any future occasion be permitted to visit the Missurie and Trade

⁴⁹This is not James Mackay but Neil or Donald Mackay, concerning whom some light is shed in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest* (Quebec, 1889) I, 282-295, *passim*.

⁵⁰On Cuthbert Grant see Davidson, *Northwest Company*. Consult index.

⁵¹Original sealed letter written in English. Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 213.

⁵²Brandon House was the Hudson's Bay Company post situated in close proximity to the Northwest Company's post located at or near the mouth of the La Souris or Mouse River. On the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies, see Davidson, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, *passim*.

⁵³Fort Charles, Mackay's wintering place, was located six miles below the present site of Omadi, Nebraska.

⁵⁴Referring to the traders of the Northwest Company.

Horses, Indian corn and Bufflo Robes, which articles we suppose not to be conected with the Fur Trade and consequently expect you will have no objections to Wishing to hear of your heath and Success I Remain

Dear Sir

Your Obedient H ble Servant

James Sutherland⁶⁵

(rubric)

Mr. Evans Trader
at the Missourie

Addressed

Mr Evans

Trader at the Missouri

⁶⁵James Sutherland was the commander of the Hudson's Bay Company's post called Brandon House. On him see Davidson, Masson, etc. *op. cit*

(To be continued)

THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

BY CLEON FORBES

PART III

CHAPTER IV

DENTON JAKES SNIDER—HISTORIAN

Denton Jaques Snider was born in Mount Gilead, Ohio, January 9, 1841. He was called a "Yankee", although he came from Southern parentage. He has written two autobiographies, from which this brief biography will be summarized, for as Mrs. Snider says: "His own books tell his story—no one can tell it so well as he has done."

When Denton was very small the family settled in Indiana, in a wet, unhealthful region, where the large family lived in a log cabin with a single room. Here the mother was in great anxiety concerning the health of her children, begging the father to return to their former home in Ohio. Being a frail woman, she soon succumbed to the rigors of pioneer life, and a sad-hearted husband with his orphaned brood returned to blame himself for the venture he had made.

The children were now scattered among kind neighbors. Denton, with some of the others, attended a small boarding school kept by a Quaker, Jesse Harkness, and his wife. They had no children, and had small understanding of children. Young Denton was very unhappy, and often broodingly considered suicide. Once he even went so far as to jump into the river, but he swam out and dried himself on the river bank. The physical diet was spare, the spiritual diet yet sparer—no stories, no fairy tales, all imagination rigidly suppressed. One of the older boys one day smuggled a novel into the group, which all read with boundless delight and in strictest secrecy. Harkness eventually discovered it, however, and with threats of eternal destruction, flung it into the fire. Another young fellow who attended the school, had a memorized stock of ballads, which he used to sing in strictest privacy, as even

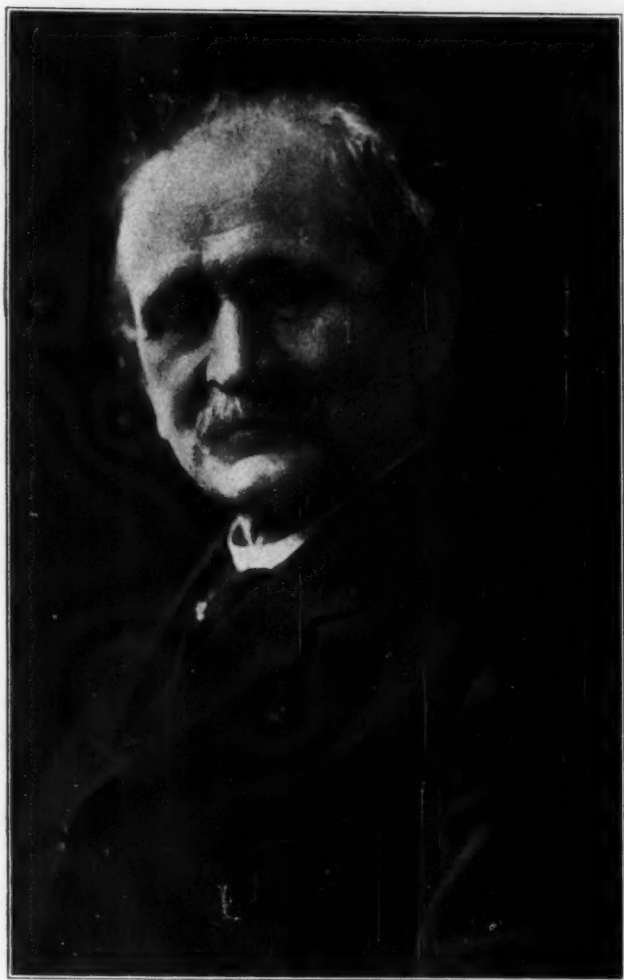
music was forbidden. He was hailed as a hero among them, and they all tried out their own songs and jingles, and this was the seed of Snider's "Johnny Appleseed's Ryhmes." Snider says that years afterward when he had completed a bit of fiction, he had a great temptation to send a copy of it to Jesse Harkness, but that even then the thought of his wrath made him forbare. Snider had a rare opportunity offered him to study violin from a master, but his father as well as his school master forbade it, so instead he got a flute on which he could practice in his teacher's absence, and take apart to hide in the woodpile. This he learned to play rather well. He says:

The most horrible memory that haunts me still of this period, is my forced attendance at Quaker meetings, in which we boys had to sit together, without a whisper, playless, laughless, nearly motionless, all in a state of incipient rebellion, but terrorized by the fierce hawk-eye of Jesse, who sat and watched us from his corner. There was no preaching, no singing, no praying; no external service to draw the attention of youth; all had to be internal, even in the undeveloped child, except when some old member rose, the Spirit moving, and recited a verse of scripture after which he would sit down again, usually smoothing with his hand his roach which was not allowed to curl up. Such a short break in that awful silence was always welcome to me as a most exciting episode, which by no means took place at every meeting. When we came home, Jesse would give us a round of ear-twinging and nose tweaking for our sins, not very severe, but perceptible; my offense generally was an unconscious smile which would not wear off with much lecturing and some drubbing. I think I may here say that here began that distaste for going to church which has accompanied me through life.*

Once, in order to bring his scattered family together, Snider's father re-married. They were growing up apart from him and from one another, and forming habits and attachments which might soon become too strong to break. The step-mother was a kind and sympathetic woman, but died within a few weeks, so the family found themselves where they were before—dispersed to the four winds.

At last Snider's aunt, a childless widow, came to make a home for her brother's family, mothering the orphaned brood, and becoming a fountain of inspiration to them all. She had little education herself, but appreciated its value for the

*Snider, D. J., *Writer of Books*, p. 18.



DENTON J. SNIDER

children. When Denton, dissatisfied with the amount of schooling he could get at Mt. Gilead, appealed to his aunt, she not only came to his rescue in persuading his father that he must have more, but it was "Aunt Mary's" money which put him through not only one year of Iberia College, but she also lent him the several hundred dollars required for five years at Oberlin.

His father was a Republican and young Snider accepted his father's politics without challenge, and re-inforced by his college associates, he became a red-Republican. He says:

"I became a Union soldier, and an enthusiastic supporter of Lincoln, and had taken a very sympathetic even boyish part in the campaign of 1856, and also in the Oberlin battle of 1858."*

Snider graduated from Oberlin College in 1862, and his commencement was for him the real beginning. He had mastered Greek and Latin while at college, now he set out to learn Spanish, French and Italian, "The daughters of the Latin Tongue."

After a few years of study and easy living in Cincinnati, he was thrown upon his own resources, and accepted a position as Latin instructor in the College of Christian Brothers, a St. Louis Catholic institution, and although he was himself a Protestant, he was treated with extreme courtesy the two years he remained in their school as instructor.

Snider marks his life off into epochs or periods. The two years from 1864 to 1866, he terms his Latin or Romantic period. Another interesting phase of his personality is, that while his life was rich with varied interests and experiences, he, unlike Harris, could give himself to but one interest at a time, and for a time it would become for him an obsession, which served in truth to mark his life into eras.

During his leisure, Snider found time to continue his studies in Spanish, adding French, Italian and German. He roomed in a German household, where, if he were to catch much of the gossip, he must understand German. He was unable to find a worthy successor to his beloved Montaldo, so

*Snider, D. J., *St. Louis Movement*, p. 287.

his Spanish suffered slightly; he tested his Italian grammar at Italian fruit stands, paying for his instruction by the purchase of a dime's worth of apples or peanuts. He ate at a French hotel, not far from the old Cathedral, in order to learn the native "twist" of French verbs. Here he says, he had to talk French or do without his dinner. At this time he was employed with seven different languages.

In 1866 Snider joined the group of philosophers headed by Brokmeyer and Harris, and he has, like a golden thought, run through the St. Louis movement from its beginning down to the present.

In this same year he resigned from the Christian Brothers College and entered Brokmeyer's law office. He calls this his "Teuton Period." He even sent to Germany upon Brokmeyer's advice, for the entire set of Hegel's eighteen volumes in the original. This absorbing study lasted some five or six years (1865-1871). Sometimes, he confesses, he would have given up in despair, except for his two older friends, Brokmeyer and Harris.

In August, 1867, Dr. Snider was married to Miss Mary Krug, a sister of Miss Julia Krug, at the Central Library, St. Louis. She was musical, as was Dr. Snider.

The following seven years were perhaps the most normal that this eccentric scholar ever experienced, for Snider and his wife were deeply congenial, they were both musical, she playing the piano, and singing, he playing his flute. Together they always spoke German, Mrs. Snider being German, though born and schooled in this country.

Snider now accepted a position in the St. Louis High School, as instructor in philosophy, although he confesses that he, like many another, employed teaching solely as a stepping stone—a means of livelihood, that he might support his growing family—until he could reach his ultimate goal, that of becoming a writer. He had now begun to write a little, and perhaps almost unconsciously began to throw off all encumbrances to this pursuit. One of his renunciations was that of professional promotion, one the offer to become assistant superintendent of the public schools, another an offer by Judge Woerner to start him on a legal career, with a modest salary.

He was sorely tempted to accept this, as he had a desire to study law, and his wife also begged him to accept, but as he stood hesitant, he says Fate suddenly turned and interrogated him sternly:

"Are you willing to give up your Super-vocation, which now runs along peacefully with, yet above your vocation? 'No,' was my answer, and that upper life-line of mine has sped on its way unswerving till now."*

At this very time St. Louis was entering the period of her Great Illusion, as Snider terms her boom. He, like most of her other citizens, became intoxicated with her dream, and he not only joined a civic club of promoters, which he could scarcely afford, but spent a goodly sum of his earnings in the purchase of some property from Brokmeyer, who had become a realtor. This tract of land lay directly in the path of progress and in wet weather was mostly under water. Snider always spoke of it as his "mud hole." He says that he persistently offered it for sale, and at last he found a buyer for it, but just before the deal was closed, the buyer went crazy and was put into a mad house, leaving the "mud hole" on Snider's hands.

Just as Snider had finished the payments on his "mud-hole," when his life was moving along in an even tenor—with a little teaching, a little family at home, a little writing for magazines, and some leisure and recreation at the club—suddenly Fate snipped the thread of his happiness, his wife died, leaving him a little daughter to care for. He was left in a bewildered condition, lost for a time. For months he wandered lonely, on the verge of insanity with his grief, and it was while in this deep sorrow that he wrote many verses, some of them very touching in their pathos.

"The world is not the world that once I knew.
The Rainbows all are gone that gave it hue.
At night the crepe hangs o'er a mighty bier,
And every star above lets fall a tear.
The sunlight, too, is changed, it is so wan,
Weeping some other part forever gone.
I step within the house—the soul is fled

*Snider, D. J., *St. Louis Movement*, p. 189.

A hollowness it is, my home is dead.
Where'er I go or look there is a void;
The world is not the world—it is destroyed."

For years Snider had longed to visit Europe; now was his opportunity. He left his baby in his sister's care, estranged himself from all his former friends, and strove to put behind him even the memory of his wrecked past. It turned out to be a deep separation both in space and in spirit. Snider had read each of the "Four Literary Bibles" in its original language. Now he says that he longed to speak and to hear those tongues as they flowed spontaneously from the hearts of the people.

So in 1877 Snider went to Europe. In London he visited the art galleries, absorbing "Turner." Such a heavy fog hung over the city that he kept indoors, thereby overlooking the opportunity of his lifetime to see the home of his beloved Shakespeare. While in Paris, French literature intrigued him, but here also he neglected an opportunity—that of seeing Victor Hugo who was still living—a life-long regret to Snider. In Greece he studied the sculptured antiques, which increased his devotion to the classical; he bathed in the Rill of Castalia at Delphi, the famed fountain of the Sisters Nine; in Rome he wandered among her ruins and wrote poetry. He visited Germany and the Rhine, and even saw the Lorelei. Thence back again to Rome, Naples and Pompeii. Whenever possible, he wandered alone, on foot, speaking in their native tongue with those he met. He absorbed Europe, for which he was so rarely fitted, and at his leave taking wrote "The Delphic Moment."

Snider spent two years abroad, and in the fall of 1879 upon his return to St. Louis, he found himself in sudden demand as a lecturer on his European impressions. He opened classes in the afternoon for women, and night classes for men, where he lectured on the modern classical world, and on Homer and Shakespeare. As texts for these classes, he wrote of his experiences in Europe, one book being entitled "A Tour in Europe," the other, "A Walk in Hellas."

For a time he attempted to carry on his work in the public school, having resumed his old position upon his return to the city, but the great demand for his private classes grew until he was forced to give his entire time to lecturing and writing. The continuance of these classes lasted about six years and constitutes what Snider terms his "Greek Renaissance" or "Classical Period."

Dr. Snider had at last reached his goal—the writing of books. He kept up a copious flood of writing, even until his death in 1925. He was a prolific and versatile writer, having written in all more than fifty volumes; books on Philosophy, Nature, Art, Music, Institutions, History, Biography, the Kindergarten, Psychology, Poetry and Miscellaneous works, beside his work on the "Four Literary Bibles," as he terms Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe. Perhaps most important of his writings is his System of Psychology, comprised in three volumes:

- I. Psychology and the Psychosis; The Intellect.
- II. The Will and its World, Physical and Ethical.
- III. Feeling With the Prolegomena.

The transition of Snider's new system of thought was evolved mainly out of Hegel's Larger Logic—in this realm of thought he was a pioneer, a Columbus of a new World of Thought. To be sure, Wundt in Germany had begun an experimental psychology and William James had given some lectures on the theme at Harvard. The air was charged with psychology when Snider's books were published; his work is full and comprehensive. He has applied pure psychology to every department of human thought and has reorganized the entire field of human knowledge.

Snider's greatest problem was the publishing of his books. Reavis of the *Inland Magazine* published his first poem; Harris, through his *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* printed his Shakespearean essays, and Snider pledged himself to furnish an article for each number of *The Western*, for one year, and at the same time to pay into its ever gaping treasury \$5 or even sometimes \$10 for each contribution. For this he was courteously called a "stockholder", until at last upon being

chosen editor, he firmly declined, fearing the honor would make a pauper of him.

A few of Snider's earliest books were printed by G. I. Jones & Co., but to find a publisher who would continue to print his books was impossible. His work lacked organization, and he would not alter it nor allow it to be edited one whit. He says in his *St. Louis Movement*:

"A book never was primarily a commercial bantling with me, but a legitimate child of my brain, to whom I owed a duty; I was to endow my spiritual offspring with the best outfit for life that I might be able to furnish. . . . I had the combative feeling that I never would let my vocation in life, verily my spirit's deepest development, be determined by a publisher or his taster."

So he determined to publish his own books, going it, he says "alone and afoot" as he had in his European travels. He worked under the name of the Sigma Publishing Company—the corresponding English "S" being the first letter of St. Louis, Shakespeare and Snider. For years he lived in the ghetto, with barely enough to keep body and soul together, that he might print his own books. They are preserved in electrotype plates.

In the fall of 1879 a new field was opened to Dr. Snider through his old associate, Dr. William Harris, who was now living in Concord. His school there had enjoyed an unprecedented success, and he begged Snider's help on some lectures of Shakespeare, in the next session. This course of lectures lasted six weeks. Dr. Snider gave his lectures in his inimitable style, which was not, however, entirely in keeping with the approved methods of Concord gentlefolk; and before the course was completed, the Concord school came near ending as abruptly as did the Milwaukee school some years later, which was recounted in a previous chapter.

Dr. Snider had little grace on the lecture platform. He was not fastidious; was in fact very careless in his dress. He was tall and very slender, quick, agile, impulsive, wiry; and while lecturing he would pace back and forth, sit a few moments, slap his knee with his hand, rise and pace again. His course of Shakespearean lectures was a great success and

he returned to lecture at Concord for six years, always returning to St. Louis to his own winter classes and the publishing of his books.

In 1884 Snider was listed on a lyceum course as a lecturer on Faust. He did not fully approve of this single-lecture method, which he deemed insufficient in itself, though useful as a stimulus and as an overture to deeper and more organic study. He traveled with the lyceum from Boston, New York and Washington, along the Atlantic coast, to Omaha and Minneapolis in the West. This period Snider calls his "Period of Propagation", and it proved to be the busiest time of his entire life. At each lyceum lecture he would strive to interest his listeners in forming a class for the purpose of studying one or another of the "Literary Bibles". Then he would appoint as instructor of each class, its most adept pupil: thus Mrs. Thomas Ferguson conducted a Homer class for ten years, while another class was conducted by William F. Woerner, with others in other cities. Then once each year these classes would be unified and in a given locality termed the "Literary School", which was held once in Milwaukee, twice in New York, and eight times in Chicago. Dr. Snider had Dr. Harris come to Chicago to lecture as he had gone to Harris' Concord school; other lecturers were Prof. Thomas Davidson, and Prof. Louis F. Soldan. Dr. Snider considered his Chicago school the greatest single achievement of his entire life. As the work became well organized and more permanent, it became known as the "Communal University".

Incidentally, while in Chicago working on his Communal University, Dr. Snider was paid to write an article for the *Chicago News*, the only writing of his entire life for which he received remuneration. Through Eugene Field, who was a reporter at that time, he received an invitation to write a criticism on Irving's rendition of Faust, which was then playing in Chicago, and to which Eugene Field also gave him box tickets.

Dr. Snider's books formed the text for the Communal University which he conducted until his death, and which is still in existence, although now under the name of "The Denton J. Snider Association for Universal Culture". It

meets each Saturday at three P. M. at the Cabanne Branch Library, St. Louis. Its active membership is about fifty. Its present president is William F. Woerner, son of the late Judge Gabriel Woerner, who was one of the organizers of the St. Louis Movement. Professor D. T. Harris of Los Angeles, California, is its honorary president.

Mrs. Thomas Ferguson, chairman of the committee on program of the Denton J. Snider Association for Universal Culture (often called the Snider Association), has submitted for our observation, a program for the year of 1928-29. It includes the study of two Literary Bibles—Dante and Shakespeare. In 1927, the subject was Homer and in 1926 they studied Goethe. Besides carrying out these programs, the Association makes an annual pilgrimage to Snider's grave on his birthday, January 9th.

Although the Communal University took Dr. Snider to many cities, and necessitated his spending months and even years in Chicago and elsewhere, he always returned to St. Louis where says Mrs. Ferguson:

"He lived in an old but central part of the city, in an old house that was once the home of a St. Louis aristocrat, but St. Louis grew westward and these fine old homes were abandoned by the socially prominent and became boarding houses. In one of these he lived, having a large room but eating mostly at Greek restaurants, where he met the native Greeks who spoke their language with Dr. Snider. Often we asked him why he did not move up to the West End, but he always replied that where he lived he was not bothered with callers who would interrupt him in his writing. He always wrote standing, improvising a desk with chairs. Some of his pupils at one time gave him a beautiful desk, but he sent it back saying he could not write sitting."*

Again in St. Louis Dr. Snider resumed his writing and reopened his classes. Among his pupils was a Mrs. Sander, many years younger than Dr. Snider, a student who understood his system of thought far better than did anyone else. She was beautiful of face and figure; extremely cultured and

*Ferguson, Mrs. Thos., *Letter*.

talented. She had studied art in France, and was a sculptor and painter. There is an old adage which says, "If you would keep your friend do not go to live with him," this being doubly true when that friend is a genius. But not at all heeding the adage, they were married. Mrs. Sander gave up her painting, and devoted her entire time to writing and typing Dr. Snider's books. For a time all went well, then misunderstandings arose. Miss Sander was to be married, and Dr. Snider accused his wife of spending too much time on her daughter's trousseau. Matters went from bad to worse, friends took sides—they separated; she went west to California, where she resumed her painting, and he returned to his obscure old room down in the had-been district.

Mrs. Snider speaks very kindly and generously of Dr. Snider. She says of him:

"He was truly the greatest organizer of thought that ever lived and one day he will come into his own."

Dr. Snider was extremely lonely after his separation. Very often now he sought out old friends at their offices and homes. He came often to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Ferguson. Mrs. Ferguson says:

"He was a friend of our family and visited at our home He confided his side of his separation from Mrs. Snider to my husband, but we loved them both and could never feel either was to blame some have thought that Dr. Snider was rather fickle in his affections, but I think these did not understand him. He was light hearted, and loved a little gossip when work hours were over. We would draw him up a big chair before an open fire-place, in the cold weather when he visited us, he would put on his skull cap, (he always wore a skull cap), clap his hands on his knees and say, 'Well, well, well, well, what's the news, what's the news?' He would never sit still very long; he would stamp his feet, get up, walk about, sit down again. We always passed some cake and wine (in preprohibition days, of course) which he would greatly enjoy My husband invited him to make his home with us, but we lived in an apartment and it was too noisy for him."

On Dr. Snider's eightieth birthday illustrious men and women from all over the country came to St. Louis to do homage to Dr. Snider in appreciation of his writings, and his teaching, but more particularly to honor him for his part in the St. Louis School of Thought. Prof. D. H. Harris has published the report of that meeting in a most interesting and inspiring little book entitled "The Early St. Louis Movement," in which are many stirring tributes to Dr. Snider.

One of these is from the Reverend Mr. Jas. W. Lee, Chaplain of Barnes' Hospital, which is especially interesting, coming as it does from a clergyman, for Dr. Snider was never a church attendant. Mr. Lee says in part:

"If I had money enough I would be glad to place all the books he has written, in every university in this country, and endow a professorship for the teaching of his philosophy. He is as orthodox as the law of gravity and the multiplication table, though he does not arbitrarily set out to be orthodox with malice aforethought. He is orthodox because he has the intuition and the mental grasp which enable him to see clearly the way things are going."

Another tribute was paid by Mr. Louis J. Block, an associate member of the old Philosophical School, in which he says:

"Every great movement of this kind must have in it a man like Denton J. Snider, and the function of men like Denton J. Snider is indispensable to every movement of this kind. . . . There comes the necessity of complete and adequate expression, the new wine must be put into new bottles, and the bottles must go all over and around the world. . . . There must be the finder and the discoverer of the everlasting idea, there must be a man who will tell and speak and utter and express the everlasting truth to all mankind. He is the great writer, the great expresser, the one who meditates between the everlasting truth and the great audiences that are expected to hear it. In that place and in that function stands this noble man . . . and, when the work is estimated aright, and it is placed in comparison with the work of any other one of the great expressers of the world—because in every epoch and in every time, and wherever there

has been any philosophy, the great expresser has come, the expresser ranks here today entirely and completely (in the estimates of all those who are worth to know and to give an opinion) with the greatest men that have figured in that field since time began."

Dr. Snider, finally accepted an invitation to live in the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Miner, and it was in their home that he died after a short illness in 1925.

Mr. Miner, who was Dr. Snider's very intimate friend, and the executor of his will, says concerning him:

"His last years were spent in my home, in fact his death occurred at my house. Dr. Snider is easily one of the foremost American authors. His commentaries on the great books before mentioned, stand supreme and are used from coast to coast."

Dr. Snider lived a peculiar life, always excusable in a genius such as he. History does not say of him that he was a kind husband or a loving or indulgent father, for his family cares sat lightly upon him, and he was loved solely for his genius' sake. His work was to be a "Writer of Books," which phrase is on his tombstone.

(To be continued)

EXPERIENCES OF LEWIS BISSELL DOUGHERTY ON THE OREGON TRAIL

EDITED BY ETHEL MASSIE WITHERS

PART V

HUNTING ALONG THE OREGON TRAIL—Concluded

A BEAR STORY BY MAJOR JOHN DOUGHERTY

My father, Major John Dougherty, told the following bear story: He and a comrade were hunting in the mountains well up the Missouri river. Passing down a small stream which emptied into the river, they saw a grizzly bear on a beaver dam not far below them. Both shot and wounded the bear who seeing his enemies immediately made for them.

Father told his companion to run for a lone tree in sight while he would try to load his gun. The man ran, reached the tree, but in looking back to see what was going on, he would lose his grip on the limb of the tree and be let down. In the meantime, the bear came after father, who was running for the same tree, calling to the other man to get out of his way. Father just had time to grab the limb and swing his feet out of the way. The bear took one of his moccasins off his foot.

Both men were up the tree without their guns. The bear after lying down at the root of the tree for an hour or more hobbled away, badly wounded and passed from sight. Soon after the bear left, both came down out of the tree, secured their guns and made for camp in another direction from that taken by the bear.

Next day they returned to hunt the wounded bear and after a long and careful search found him not quite dead but so near death that he gave them no further trouble.

Under all circumstances the wounded grizzly bear is to be avoided as he has no fear whatever. * * * * *

Father was convinced of the great strength of the grizzly by a circumstance which he related to us as children:

On one occasion he killed a very large buffalo bull in a little valley with mountains on either side. While father was away to procure pack animals to take the meat of the buffalo to camp, a bear dragged the buffalo about 150 feet to a slight depression in the ground, covered the carcass with earth scratched up with his claws and was contentedly sleeping in the sun about 100 yards from the mound.

It was such a tempting opportunity that father could not resist, so he fired, making a center shot. The bear did not rise to his feet but died where he had been sleeping.

The bear was thought to be nearly as heavy as the buffalo. This burying meat by a bear is the method by which the meat is made very tender. It is practiced by many other wild beasts, and in fact domestic meat eaters such as cats and dogs often do the same.

AN ELK HUNT—MAJOR JOHN DOUGHERTY WINS THE NAME
"IRON LEGS"

Father and a Sioux Indian were employed by a fur company as hunters. Both were twenty-two years of age and fine specimens of manhood.

During early days in the mountains, men lived on meat alone for months at a time. The two hunters with their rifles and knives started early in the morning for a good hunt. There was a deep snow on the ground and owing to the severe weather a hard crust had formed, consequently the hunters could travel easily on top of the snow. This was very well for they had to go a distance for game as the country around the camp had been hunted over for some time.

They had traveled about twelve miles when the trail of a large number of elk was before them. The elk broke through the snow crust owing to their small feet and weight. Traveling with them was slow and leaders were changed frequently as they became fatigued in breaking the crust.

The hunters running on either side of the elk trail soon sighted the game. Father asked the Indian for his plan by which a considerable number of the elk might be killed. The Indian said that he always under such circumstances killed

with his knife. Father assented. Their guns were hung on a small tree, the place marked and the chase was again renewed.

The elk, on discovering their pursuers, with renewed energy caused by fright, kept ahead of the hunters for some time, gradually slowing up in their flight.

After perhaps two hours the elk ran into a valley cutting into the mountain quite a distance. In this valley was a shallow lake covered with ice not thick enough to bear the elk. In fact the hunters often broke through. It was afterwards discovered that a warm spring furnished most of the water for the lake.

The elk breaking through the ice were disheartened and seemed to give up. The hunters rushed upon them and killed them with their knives by plunging them in the sides behind their shoulders. One plunge was enough as it bled the animal to death. Twenty-one were killed in the lake, three or four after crossing, only a few escaping.

Father proposed that one remain and prepare the elk for packing and the other return to camp for pack animals. The Indian said, "No, the race is not over, we will see which of us makes camp first". The banter was enough. They started on their back track in a run as best they could and about nine o'clock at night father entered his tent, beating the Indian about half an hour. The Indian fell exhausted on reaching his lodge and in a year died of consumption brought on by this race.

The distance covered in the race from morning until 9 o'clock at night was estimated to be nearly seventy miles. Father returned with several other men with pack ponies and secured the meat.

The Indians gave father the name of "Iron Legs" after this hunt. Some of the older Sioux Indians remembered the circumstances creating the name when I became acquainted with them, many years after the hunt and race.

OTHER TALES OF THE OREGON TRAIL

A BLIZZARD

The third day of November, 1850, is remembered well because of a very severe blizzard that day and night.

On the morning of the fourth, on opening the door of the store, we found several mules with harness on huddled together between the store and warehouse and about ten o'clock we saw two ambulances west of the Post garden.

Investigating we found a Mr. Livingston, a Salt Lake merchant, and his party almost frozen. They had traveled all day in the blizzard, trying to reach the fort, until the mules refused to go farther. They were exhausted.

Mr. Livingston, knowing he was not very far from the fort, told his men to turn the mules loose and try as best they could to keep from freezing. They had lost the road and had come within fifty feet of the garden fence without knowing it.

They were short of rations but were all right in a short time after being taken in and thawed out.

A TRAGEDY OF THE TRAIL

The story of a man named Glass, which I have seen in print, where or when I do not remember, was known to father (Major John Dougherty).

Glass was with a large party of hunters and trappers. He got away by himself one day and wounded a bear. The bear overtook him on a beaver dam and chewed him horribly. It is believed by many hunters that a bear will not trouble one after death. This trait of the bear, if true, was perhaps the reason why Glass was not killed, he feigning death.

He was found by the party. As they were traveling and Glass was unable to accompany them, they made a small hut for him and left two men to care for him until he died, supposing he could live but a few days at most.

For some reason these two men left Glass alone with some meat and about ten days after they had been left with the wounded man joined the main party. They told that Glass had died and they had buried him.

About six weeks after the two men returned to the main group, Glass was found near the permanent camp, making his way on hands and knees. He knew where, by agreement, the camp was to be located. He was taken to camp and cared for as tenderly as circumstances would permit.

The two men who had deserted Glass deserted the camp the night Glass was brought in and were never heard of afterwards by any of their party.

Glass was lacking one eye; the muscles of his arms and legs so badly torn when healed were in comical shapes and knots; his ribs were broken; his scalp was almost free of skin and hair. Yet he recovered and lived a long time, I have heard.

MR. MAY—LONE ADVENTURER

Twice during my stay at Fort Laramie after the trapping season ended, a Mr. May came to the Fort bringing two ponies loaded with beaver and otter skins, which he had trapped. These were sold at high prices.

He would purchase ammunition for his next trapping, turn his horse out to grass and proceed to spend the balance of his money in dissipation—steady drinking.

Mr. May was from Tennessee and was one of the most agreeable and pleasant men I ever met. We concluded from words spoken now and then that he had had a love affair in his native state which had driven him to live the life he led.

When the time arrived to commence trapping, he would pack his horses with his kettle, blankets, ammunition and traps and very little food and start for where he knew not. He sought places to set his traps that no other human was likely to find, kept his horse securely, lived by his gun, seeing no one. Thus he lived until the end of the trapping season when he would return to sell his skins.

He told me that once, traveling on a steamer up the Missouri river far above civilization, an Englishman was hunting adventure. He was a proud and big feeling man. One day at table England and America were the subjects of conversation. The Englishman was rather severe in his criticism of America.

Mr. May sat opposite him listening, but taking no part in the discussion, until the Englishman made some harsh, uncalled for remarks about the President, when he reached over and struck the Englishman on the chin with his fork and held him until he apologized. This cured the Englishman who became quite pleasant and was friendly to Mr. May.

I never knew what finally became of May. He had not returned to his native state when I knew him and said he never would.

Who can imagine the thoughts that entered the mind of this educated, accomplished man? Who can estimate the power of a disappointment that will drive a man to seek solitude in the fastnesses of the forests and hills, with no companion unless his pack animal, rifle, traps and appetite can be called companions! When sitting near the night fire preparing his meat, it would seem that thoughts of the past and of home could not be kept down, but would arouse conscience and compell him to retrace his steps and find the haunts of men.

I know that May's was not the only case of its kind.

PHILADELPHIA BILL

Thinking of the educated Mr. May, I am reminded of another character almost the exact opposite whom I knew as Philadelphia Bill.

He brought a message from some fort south of Laramie. Not being required to return and liking the summer days at Laramie, he concluded to remain provided he could get employment. He became a messenger for an army quartermaster and continued in this work as long as his restless disposition would permit.

Philadelphia Bill was six feet one inch tall, rawboned, about thirty years old, strong as a mule, active as a cat, ready as a terrier, had never known sickness, knew no fear and was used to hardship. He was unacquainted with a single letter but talked quite well and never hesitated to answer questions about himself.

Asked why he had received no education, coming from Philadelphia, his birthplace, he said he had run away from his

very poor home when about seven years old and had been running ever since.

He had been on the sea, had visited several foreign countries, had been a filibuster in Cuba, had gone to Mexico as a teamster and had worked his way to Laramie, hunting for nothing in particular, only to live with and enjoy kindred spirits which he found more plentiful in the west than in other places.

Late one fall, he was sent with a dispatch from the commanding officer of Laramie to some troops stationed somewhere near the Missouri river, about 120 miles distant. He started early in the morning with the orders, gun and blanket. He took not one mouthful of food. He was a fine rifle shot.

Just at night of the third day he came in with the answer to his dispatch. This was done on foot. He told that near night of the first day he killed a small antelope. He immediately camped, cooked and ate half the meat, rolled in his blanket and slept until morning. He started without breakfast carrying the other half of the antelope into the camp of those for whom he had the dispatch. He ate a hearty meal and as soon as an answer was ready started on his return and did not taste food until he came into Laramie.

Philadelphia Bill preferred to make these trips on foot as he did not have the care of a steed and could lie down almost anywhere and sleep and could dodge parties of Indians so much more easily.

These trips generally were made three or four weeks apart. This man had no grievance that made him live as he did. It simply suited him and he liked it. I think he was in the employ of the Government when I left Laramie, in 1856.

A COUCH OF PRICKLY PEARS

Two of us were on our way to hunting grounds when just before us a young wolf jumped up out of a bunch of grass. We were riding mules. We gave chase, with our rifles carried in front across our saddles.

We had chased the wolf some distance and thought he was ours by right of capture, but my mule, finding a hole in

the ground, put his foot into it and down we went. He seemed to be standing on his head. I pulled my gun before me and then I went over and fell full length into a patch of prickly pears.

Sometimes these pears grow very thickly over a space of twenty feet square. They are very small, flat and covered with thousands of very sharp stickers. Such was the bed I occupied for a little while. I was literally covered with these stickers. They let go of the pears and cling to whatever touches them.

Repairing to a sheltered place I made an examination. Horrors! I was covered on one side like a porcupine, except the needles were turned the wrong way, the points inward. They continued to work in. I pulled out as many as I could with my fingers, mounted and made for the fort as fast as I could ride, shrinking from the points of the remaining needles with every step of my mule.

After reaching the fort, I procured a pair of tweezers, and with the aid of the fort doctor succeeded in extracting many more needles from my body. I was bothered some days by those not found.

The prickly-pear needles cause a fester when left in the skin twenty-four hours and then can be taken out.

Take my word for the truth of this experience of mine and do not try the experiment yourself.

I have known more than one hunt to be a failure on account of these pears being scattered over the ground. The hunter, crawling on hands and knees, places his hand on one, the stickers enter and often bring the little pear with them. Instinctively one lifts his hand to his mouth to relieve the hand, when it is in the same fix. The other hand becomes involved, leaving one somewhat in the same dilemma as Brother Rabbit and the Tar Baby.

The game is forgotten by the hunter and his crawling has ceased before conditions are back to normal.

Some hunters are supplied with thick knee pads and gloves for occasions like the above.

Antelope are fond of the larger kinds of the pear, feeding upon them with impunity, the stickers not interfering with the

eating, nor swelling the lips or gums as they do those of other animals when they attempt to eat the pears. Some patches of the tall pear are found covering acres, growing close together. The antelope frequently flee to these when pursued and escape, as wolves and bears dread them very much.

I knew one patch near a French camp that grew around a rocky center in such a manner as to form a snug corral. One or two men guarded the vacant places.

TWO GRIZZLY CUBS

I was surprised one day at Fort Laramie by a Sioux Indian walking into the store and presenting to me two bear cubs which he was carrying in his blanket. He had caught them about one hundred miles north, after the mother had been killed.

He fed them with meat soaked in water, giving them the broth which they lapped with their tongues like dogs and cats. They were the size of large pups three or four months old, male and female.

The male was a grizzly color. He was named "Buchanan" after President Buchanan, who, a short time before, had taken his seat in the White House.

I may here mention one of the deprivations experienced by those at the fort during the winter before Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated, owing to the deep snows stopping all communications with the States. The election was held in November and we never heard who was the lucky man until the fourth of March, the very day he was seated. We received this news by way of California and Salt Lake.

Cub Buchanan was not so amiable as was President Buchanan, but more like General Jackson—disposed to have his own way. After he grew to the size of a mature dog, he was quite cross and became so vicious that we were compelled to chain him to a stake with a six foot chain. He defied anything coming within the limits of his tether.

One day I tried to subdue him by force but failed. I approached him. As soon as he saw me near his reach he made a rush for me, mouth open. I struck him with a short

stick, stunning him a little, walked around to the other side and gave him another stroke as he made another rush. He stopped a little longer than at first. A third stroke was given him still harder than the first but it did not deter him as he made the fourth rush more savagely than the others. This satisfied me that this method of taming a grizzly was a failure and I let him alone to enjoy his domain as he might determine.

When about one year old he was killed and distributed among the various messes of the garrison. He had become fat and the meat was relished by many.

The female cub, called "Miss Harriet," was more of a brown color than grizzly. She was very gentle and cunning in many ways. To be on the safe side, we kept a light chain on her but permitted her to run loose in the daytime.

Miss Harriet was remarkably fond of any kind of sweet-meats. As soon as she was loose in the morning, she would go behind the counter and reach her paw into the sugar barrel. She would lift out as much as she could and eat it, repeating until she was taken away. She would eat all kinds of fruits and loved cherries, peaches and other fruits preserved in liquor.

In indulging her propensity for brandied cherries, she ate more than was prudent and was made very drunk once. The officers of the fort furnished the cherries.

The actions of this cub while under the influence of liquor were sufficient to have cured almost any one of the liquor habit. She would fall down, roll over, get up, rub her head, stand on her hind feet, scratch her nose and sides and whine piteously. Yet she exhibited no ill temper. This lasted more than two hours.

She was very fond of water and especially of the bath. She was taken to the river daily, only seventy-five yards from the store, and allowed to swim as long as she chose. Sometimes one would get into a small boat and she would swim and drag the boat. She would remain under water on the bottom a considerable time, playing with pebbles or trying to catch fish. She would wrestle with any one and could hold her own pretty well.

Her caresses were rougher than those of a child not from a desire to injure or inconvenience but simply on account of her strength. She would give and receive without anger some tolerably hard knocks.

I had to leave the fort for the States and sent Miss Harriet to the beef herd, the soldiers promising to take care of her. Always ready for fun, some of the men thought it would interest and not be dangerous to have the bear and dogs fight. There was a fight. The dogs were badly whipped and the bear was so angry that she refused all overtures for peace so the men were obliged to kill her. I regretted this as I had intended to bring her to me as soon as a good opportunity offered.

A BLACK BEAR PET

Father, when living near St. Louis, received a black bear caught in Arkansas as a gift. At first the bear was chained to a stake driven into the ground, but after a little while he learned how to take the chain up and over the end of the stake and loosen himself. Then he was chained to a tree. The chain was long and gave him the opportunity of taking exercise. He was remarkably imitative. He would climb the tree, swing on the limbs, skin the cat and do other tricks that he saw done by those near him, turn handsprings, walk erect, endeavor to stand on his head, etc.

He was fond of chicken and sometimes caught one and then—goodbye chicken! He exhibited cunning and tact in catching them. When fed bread, not much relished by him, he managed to scatter crumbs so as to entice the chicken within reach while he would recline as if asleep near the tree. The fowls would stealthily approach and commence eating, then the bear would make a rush and he seldom failed to bag one.

The black is the smallest species of bear. Not many years ago (written in 1906) Italians often traveled through this country, Missouri, leading a black bear or more frequently a cinnamon bear which is larger than the black bear. They would stop anywhere they could get an audience and put their bears through numerous performances.

They would sing or fiddle for the bear to dance or waltz and would wrestle, the bear always being the victor.

A muzzle was used on these traveling bears. So many accidents on the road were caused by the fear horses have for bears that a law was passed forbidding these open air exhibitions.

HORSES OF THE WAGON TRAINS ON THE OREGON TRAIL

Horses often became experts in evading work. It is customary when grazing horses and mules to picket them on grass with a rope from thirty to sixty feet in length, one end being fastened to the animal and the other to an iron or wooden pin or stake driven into the ground a foot or two.

The animal has quite a piece of ground to graze over as it has access to everything around in reach of the rope. Sometimes in pulling on the pin from different directions the horse or mule loosens it and frees himself. Trouble is at hand. The old stager, used to getting out of work, manages to keep the dragging pin just out of reach of the man who is trying to catch him. This may be kept up until the man is so exasperated and annoyed that he feels inclined to shoot, but being already tired of walking, thinking twice, he abides his time until the horse or mule has enough chasing and surrenders with fear and trembling.

I am sorry to say that the tired man who has the power, uses it tyrannically, forgetting that kindness is the better, under almost every circumstance.

WHAT IS A HORSE WORTH ON THE PLAINS?

We read that a kingdom was once offered for a horse. Now this is just what a horse on the plains is worth under certain circumstances.

He transports you on his back, your grub, your blanket and gun, in fact all, without complaint and often under severe trials. When occasion offers he takes you out of danger by his fleetness and sometimes prevents death.

When Lieutenant Gratton was killed by the Sioux Indians near Fort Laramie, the interpreter, a Frenchman

named Johnise accompanied him and sat on his horse during the combat. At the first shot, Johnise fled toward the fort and was about to escape when some of the Indians hallooed to shoot his horse. That was done and down he fell. The Frenchman was killed.

Would he have priced this horse while he was fleeing from his enemies? Many have been in places where an offer of a kingdom for a horse would not be entertained for a second.

I have no patience with one who mistreats one of our noblest animals, the horse.

USES OF THE BUFFALO

I am reminded of the many ways travelers can put the buffalo hide to useful purposes. Sometimes a spoke is broken out of a wheel which may let the wheel down. We find and fit a piece of timber next to the broken spoke and wrap it with fresh hide, the hairs in, and take a hot iron and dry the hide around the stick. When perfectly dry the hide holds tight and is nearly as strong as hoop iron.

We treat a broken tongue, sometimes replace a broken link of chain with hide. Horses become sorefooted until blood appears. We shoe them with buffalo hide. We cut a piece of hide around about nine inches in diameter, cut holes all around the edge, put in a lace, put the horse's foot in the hide, draw up the outer edge around the hoof with the lace which holds, as the hoof is smaller at top than bottom.

This sort of horse shoe will last four or five days depending on the gravel on the road and the amount of travel.

Oxen are shod with dry hide cut to fit the claw and put on with tacks. This has to be done often as most oxen have a twist to their hoofs in walking and the hide wears rapidly.

Canoes are made of bull hides when trees are not found. They are shaped in such a manner as to make them as large as possible out of one hide and stretched over a frame and fastened to it with the flesh side out. They are almost always made round. Sometimes they have an oblong shape when the hide is unusually long.

These canoes are comparatively light and carry more weight than one would suppose from their small appearance.

The goods are placed, leaving room enough for the steerer. By means of a small hand paddle with the assistance of the current, a crossing of the stream is made. Many trips are made before all is over when the camp equipage is large. Horses and dogs are compelled to swim, the men and larger boys crossing over on the backs of horses.

DOMESTICATED BUFFALOES IN MISSOURI

In 1837, soon after father bought the farm in Clay county known as "The Dougherty Farm," some traders sent him five buffalo calves with two cows, one nursing two and one nursing three. Sometimes when the calves were very hungry they would rush to their step-mother, and the three, one on either side and one behind, would raise the cow's hind parts entirely off the ground.

Father owned one large buffalo cow named Victoria. She was gentle and would suffer herself to be milked.

Buffaloes have a short rather coarse wool mixed with their hair. A considerable quantity of this wool was taken from the cow, Victoria, corded, and spun into yarn out of which mother knitted a pair of socks. She sent the socks to Henry Clay of Kentucky, who, before his death, sent them to Washington, D. C. They were in a glass case in the Smithsonian Institute a few years since, quite well-preserved. I believe it was in 1890 that I saw them when I was in Washington with my wife, attending the Knights Templar conclave.

Victoria was taken to St. Louis with 100 head of fat steers by Captain Allen Reed, John Rickett and myself. They were driven all the way. The news of the buffalo's coming kept ahead of us and quite a number of men, women and children would congregate in the small towns through which we passed, to see the sight.

Sometimes thoughtless men meeting us would ride in the center of the road dividing the herd, sending some on one side and some on the other into the bushes. They would keep this up until they came in front of the buffalo cow who would grunt

and lower her head as if for a fight. Then the horses would wheel and carry their riders in the other direction.

Some men would follow us for miles asking all sorts of questions. On reaching St. Louis we sold the cattle and the buffalo to a butcher, the latter bringing one hundred dollars.

The purchaser paraded Victoria through the main streets several times, advertising buffalo meat for sale at a certain time. We heard that the meat sold readily at a high figure and that the butcher kept the hide green as long as he could, hanging it up in front of his shop. We heard too that he sold a quantity of other beef as buffalo meat, making a handsome sum by his deceit.

In a few years, father's herd increased to twenty head. Judge Thompson of Liberty had a herd of near the same number which was on his farm two miles from ours. These buffaloes were supposed to move with native cattle on the Dougherty prairie, but the two herds united cared little for the natives and ran a herd of their own. After a time, they were teased and bothered so much by curious people that some of them would not submit to being driven or run but would chase the horsemen off the prairie.

Finally, all the buffaloes were sold to a man by the name of Etty and taken overland to St. Louis.

Judge Thompson and father each gave a buffalo to be served at a barbecue given in honor of General Alexander Doniphan and his men when they returned from the Mexican war. This barbecue was perhaps as largely attended as any barbecue ever held in Missouri.

The buffalo, Victoria, was the principal in an incident which happened on father's farm. Henry, a colored man, had a basket of corn on his arm to feed some pigs in a pen. As he stepped on the ground after getting over the fence, Victoria saw him and wanted corn. She stepped up to him, her mouth extended ready for an ear. Henry motioned her away. She deliberately pushed him up against the fence with her head and held him there until he gave her an ear of corn, when she stepped to one side and permitted him to go on and feed the pigs.

We had one very large buffalo bull. He cared nothing for fences and gave us a great deal of trouble. A lot strong enough to hold him could scarcely be built. In order to control him and keep him out of mischief, we sawed off a tree near one foot in diameter, cutting a tenon on top of the stump which was five feet six inches in height. We procured a nice log or pole 18 feet long with a mortice in the big end to fit over the tenon so as to revolve around the stump.

The little end was cut like an ox yoke with a very strong bow to fit in the yoke. When all was ready, the bull was roped and dragged to the yoke and it was fastened securely on him. The ropes were removed and the bull was his own boss except he could not get away from the yoke or stump. He could proceed only in one way around the stump. He could lie down very comfortably. In this condition, he was kept until sold. He became quite gentle and would eat out of one's hand.

It is sad for one who has had so much to do with the buffaloes of the United States to contemplate the extinction of this noble animal, at one time roaming over the western country in countless thousands, nature providing their sustenance and they in turn furnishing food and raiment to thousands upon thousands of improvident Indians.

FINIS

Editor's note:—Emerson Hough, author of "The Covered Wagon," published in 1922, the year of Clay county's centennial celebration, wrote as follows:—"Dear Mrs. Withers—Say to the people of Old Liberty of to-day, 'The cowards never started. The weak died on the way! That is how Old Liberty was founded. That is how the real America was made.'

Faithfully, Emerson Hough."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Only the research worker in the field of the Spanish regime in Missouri can fully appreciate the labor required to translate and edit such documents as are being contributed to the *Review* by Dr. A. P. Nasatir. This scholar is making evident that some important phases of this period of our history have not been exploited. The political scientist will be especially concerned, for not only are administrative questions of government involved but also new facts relating to the rivalry of England and Spain in the Mississippi valley. Dr. Nasatir is now engaged in similar work in the Spanish archives at Seville. The final results of his labors may put an enhanced historical value on the importance, both local and international, of the activity of the Spanish lieutenant governors of Upper Louisiana during the last decade and a half of their rule at St. Louis.

EUGENE FIELD ON THE ST. LOUIS TIMES

Mr. R. P. Thompson of the Springfield *Press* of Springfield, Missouri, writes this interesting comment under date of February 10, 1931:

"Several times I have noticed, when the *Review* refers to Eugene Field, mention is made of his writings on the St. Louis *Times* or *Journal*.

"I served on the *Journal* with Mr. Field, and it was the only St. Louis paper he ever contributed to. I was also on the *Times* and my brother, W. A. Thompson, was associate editor under Major Sylvester, and Mr. Field never was associated with the paper, leaving St. Louis for Kansas City in the late 70's."

CORRECTION *In Re* "THE BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI"

BY W. S. DEARMONT

My attention has been called to an error in my article, "The Building of the University of Missouri, An Epoch Making Step"—published in the Missouri Historical Review for

January 1931, which reads as follows: "the Agricultural Building erected out of money derived from the sale of lands donated to the University by the National Government."

As there seems to be no record of the sale of the public lands donated by the National Government to the State of Missouri to aid in founding an Agricultural and Mechanical School until September, 1881, the Agricultural Building must have been erected out of money donated by Boone County to secure the location of the Agricultural and Mechanical School at Columbia, Missouri, as the Agricultural Building was dedicated in 1871.

My main thesis remains true, that no building used for instructional purposes was built on the University Campus out of money appropriated by the General Assembly of Missouri until after 1883, when an appropriation was made to build the "Wings" of the old University main building.

VICTOR CLARENCE VAUGHN

When Dr. Victor Clarence Vaughn died on Nov. 21, 1929, at his home at Richmond, Virginia, world renowned scientists declared that perhaps never again would activities so diversified as those in which Dr. Vaughn was interested be successfully combined in the life of a single individual. The scientific knowledge of Dr. Vaughn was so wide that today it affects the lives of practically every person.

The life work of this noted doctor, who was born at Mount Airy, Randolph County, Missouri, Oct. 27, 1851, is reviewed in the June, 1930, issue of *The Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine*, St. Louis.

At the age of 19, Victor C. Vaughn was professor of Latin at Mt. Pleasant College, Huntsville, Missouri. His early education had been largely classical, but one day at the college he discovered a complete chemical laboratory. Teaching chemistry to himself, he began a subject that was to determine his whole life work and influence the whole course of his original researches.

Vaughn entered the University of Michigan in 1874. He became a Doctor of Philosophy in 1876 and two years later a

Doctor of Medicine. In later years he received recognition from numerous institutions, including four Doctor of Laws degrees, two of them from Missouri institutions, Central College (1910) and the University of Missouri (1923).

As early as 1875 he began teaching in the University of Michigan Medical School. By 1880 he was an assistant professor and by 1883 a full professor. Vaughn's rise to prominence was rapid. In 1878 he published his second book, a textbook on physiologic chemistry which went through three editions in three years. For 36 years he served as president of the Michigan State Board of Health and for 30 years was dean of the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Michigan. In 1888 at the Michigan institution, Dr. Vaughn opened the first bacteriological laboratory in the United States and the second in the world.

Dr. Vaughn saw service in two wars. In 1898 he served as major and surgeon in the Spanish-American War and was under fire at the Battle of Santiago. Later he was a member of a national commission to study typhoid in military camps and the report, which Dr. Vaughn wrote, is one of the most authoritative works on typhoid and kindred diseases. During the World War, Dr. Vaughn served as a member of the National Research Council, ranking as a colonel. For his services in the Spanish-American War he received a citation for gallantry, and in the World War received the Distinguished Service Cross from the United States and was made a Knight of the Legion of Honor by France. After the war, Dr. Vaughn became the first chairman of the National Research Council, a position that required his full time and necessitated his retirement from the University of Michigan, which occurred in 1921.

Through leading a scientifically busy life, Dr. Vaughn found time to edit several publications. He founded the *Physician and Surgeon* in 1888, was the first editor of *The Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine*, 1915, and in 1923 was the first editor of *Hygeia*. In addition he held numerous offices of honor and significance. He was president of the American Medical Association (1914-15), president of the Association of

American Physicians (1908-9), and president of the American Tuberculosis Association (1919).

After leaving Michigan, Dr. Vaughn's home was at Washington, D. C., and later at Richmond, Va., where he died. In 1927, after returning from the Orient where he had attended the Pan-American Congress at Tokio, Dr. Vaughn suffered a mild apoplectic seizure, from which he recovered, but which necessitated his retirement from active work. To posterity, Dr. Vaughn has left a personal record in a delightful book called "A Doctor's Memories".

The June, 1930, issue of *The Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine* contains numerous articles on Dr. Vaughn's work in the special fields of medical science in which he was most interested. Tributes are paid the memory of Dr. Vaughn by some of the greatest living American doctors, many of whom Dr. Vaughn taught.

One of the interesting selections of the magazine is a chapter of his "Memories" which had to be left out of the book because of lack of space. The article is entitled "Negro Slavery in Missouri As I Saw It." The magazine also contains a bibliography of the 324 books and articles by Dr. Vaughn.

JOHN L. ROBARDS—A BOYHOOD FRIEND OF MARK TWAIN

BY C. J. ARMSTRONG

The mind of Mark Twain often went back to his boyhood days and haunts at Hannibal, Missouri. Howells tells us that he loved the Mississippi river more than any natural object he ever saw. It was graven on his memory from earliest childhood, for he was only four years old when he came to Hannibal to live. In the after years he called it, "the great Mississippi, the magnificent Mississippi, the majestic Mississippi." In his memory also towered Holiday's Hill—the Cardiff Hill of "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." Years later, in "Innocents Abroad," he tells us that he wondered, in the days of childhood, why its brow was not covered with eternal snow. The mighty Pyramids of Egypt sent his memory hurtling back to the Cardiff Hill of the home town on the banks of the Mississippi. Memory bridged the

intervening years. He beheld once more "that paradise of boyhood." And so it was with the Cave made immortal by him in "Tom Sawyer"—the Cave in which he and his childhood sweetheart, Becky Thatcher, are pictured as lost.

His attachments for his old friends at Hannibal never waned. Sixty years later, when dictating his "Autobiography," his mind goes back to those old playmates and school friends. He names many of them. "I am talking of a time sixty years ago and upwards. I remember the names of some of those schoolmates, and, by fitful glances, even their faces rise before me for a moment—only just long enough to be recognized; then vanish." (Vol II, 180, 181.)

Among those who stood out in his memory was John L. RoBards, who was born in 1838, and was three years younger than Mark Twain. His parents and the parents of Mark Twain were intimate friends. In a memorandum book, Mr. RoBards tells, in his own handwriting, of their social intercourse and business deals. It was before Judge Clemens that the deeds to some property were secured. He speaks of Mrs. Clemens as a God-fearing woman, connected with the Presbyterian church, and Judge Clemens as a pious man though not connected with any church. I well remember Mr. RoBards in the last years of his life. He was a fine specimen of the courteous gentleman. He was a large, handsome man, and ever carried himself with the dignity and graciousness that became a man of his years, traditions and heredity. He was of fine Kentucky stock. Mrs. RoBards was a noble woman of the finest descent. Today there dwell with us two of their children, Mr. Archie C. RoBards and Mrs. Mabel Bozarth, who are worthy descendants of such noble parents.

That John RoBards held a deep place in the affections of Mark Twain is evidenced by the references to him in the "Autobiography." This is a signal honor. It places him among the immortals. To have so impressed Mark Twain that, sixty years later, he wrote of him as he does in the "Autobiography", (II, 66, 67, 182, 183) speaks volumes for the type of boy John RoBards was and the affection for him that ever dwelt in Mark Twain's heart.

Another evidence of Mark Twain's high regard for Colonel RoBards is to be found in letters which he wrote him. In 1876 Mark Twain and Colonel RoBards corresponded about the burying of John M. Clemens and Henry Clemens in one lot in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Hannibal, Missouri. The letters explain themselves.

Hartford April 17

My Dear John:

Long, long ago I received your kind letter, but was summering at a detestable seaside Babel, at the time, where letter-answering was impossible. When I returned home I did not reply because I constantly expected to run out there in person. I never have given up that hope until now. I suppose I must wait until next year. I therefore seize upon your kind offer to attend to Henry & my father's graves—I have forgotten what sum you said would be required to purchase a lot & remove the bodies, but I think it was under \$100. I enclose check for \$100. If Henry & my father feel as I would feel under their circumstances, they want no prominent or expensive lot, or luxurious entertainment in the new cemetery. As for a monument—well, if you remember my father, you are aware that he would rise up & demolish it the first night. He was a modest man & would not be able to sleep under a monument.

(I have been to my files & found your letter—which makes the whole matter fresh in my mind again.)

It was my purpose to deliver the lecture you suggest, in Hannibal, for the benefit of the Cemetery, but the opportunity of going West has failed me all these months. I shall try hard to never deliver another lecture in the east upon any account whatever; but if I get west next year & can spare a day to run up to Hannibal & talk for the Cemetery, I shall be more than glad to do it. Thanking you a thousand times, John, for your good courtesy, I am your friend S. L. Clemens.

Hartford June 10.

My Dear Friend—

I thank you very heartily and sincerely, John, for the kind trouble you have taken, & shall be glad if you will order the marbles you speak of, for Henry's grave. You may find that there will be some little additional expenses before you have finished—& after paying such, you may send whatever balance remains, to my mother, Mrs. Jane Clemens, Fredonia, N. Y., if you will be so good. She will understand, for she is acquainted with our correspondence & I shall send your present letter to her to let her see what has been accomplished.

Henry Clemens
Born June 13, 1838
Died June 19, 1858

The above is sufficient inscription for Henry's tomb. With many thanks for all your kindnesses I am

Sincerely yours,
Sam'l L Clemens.

The years of the above letters are fixed by the following letter from Mark Twain's mother, Jane Clemens:

"Fredonia¹.
August 5, 1876.

Mr. RoBards.
Dear Friend.

Did you not have my husband's remains removed as well as Henry's. Please answer. It is gratifying to us all to know that the lot has been improved and will be kept in order. I received the draft this morning all right. I sincerely thank you for your kindness.

Jane Clemens.

After Mark Twain's visit to Hannibal in 1882, during his famous trip up the Mississippi, Colonel RoBards evidently wrote him expressing dissatisfaction about some comments of some of the newspapers. Here is Mark Twain's reply—all written in typewriter capitals.—

HARTFORD CONN. JUNE 10. 1882.

DEAR JOHN:—

DON'T WORRY ABOUT ANYTHING THE NEWSPAPERS SAY LIFE IS TOO SHORT FOR THAT. AS LONG AS THE NEWSPAPERS REFRAIN FROM TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT ME, I HAVE NO FAULT TO FIND WITH THEIR STATEMENTS.

I HAD A DELIGHTFUL TIME IN HANNIBAL, AND THE MEMORY OF IT IS A CONTINUAL PLEASURE TO ME. I WISH I COULD HAVE SEEN A GREATER NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE, STILL I THINK I SUCCEEDED PRETTY WELL CONSIDERING THE SHORT TIME AT MY DISPOSAL. WHEN YOU COME EAST JOHN, DO NOT FAIL TO GRANT A VISIT TO

SINCERELY YOUR FRIEND,
S. L. CLEMENS.

The following letter is of uncertain date as to the year, but contains some very interesting material:

¹This, so far as I am aware is the only letter of Jane Clemens that has been published.

Elmira, N. Y., Aug. 2.

Dear John—

What promise? I hardly ever make one—and *never* make one that is any trouble to keep. Tell me about this one (for I have forgotten it utterly) and if it isn't any trouble to keep it, I'll keep it, as sure as you live—otherwise I'll add it, without a twinge of conscience, to the millions of the same kind that went before it.

These be damnable morals, I grant it, but they are the only kind for a man with a bad memory who is called upon every week to fulfill some forgotten old promise long since barred by the Statute of limitations.

Erzähle!

Only yours,

S. L. Clemens.

June 3^d.

My dear old playmate & friend, the tidings you send me are inexpressably distressing, & my heart goes out to you in your sorrow. Good-bye—I grieve with you.

Sam.

The last letter in the collection received by Colonel RoBards was dated June 7, 1908—less than two years before Mark Twain's death. It reveals very clearly Mark Twain's great love for his old friend:—

21 Fifth Avenue

Dear John:

If the graves of my family need putting in order, will you kindly have it attended to and send me the bill? I shall be greatly obliged.

I was very sorry to miss you that afternoon at the Auditorium, but I was constantly being introduced to people, & had no chance to get out my glasses & examine the cards placed in my hands until you were gone; then all my efforts to get on your track were futile. By George it was a day of confusions, mistakes, disappointments, defeated intentions, & cross purposes!

You came east, that time, without looking in at 21 Fifth avenue. Please don't act like that again. It will always be a delight to me to see you—and the time left us is not long, John.

Sincerely your friend

S. L. Clemens¹.

¹Written after death of Colonel RoBard's granddaughter to whom Mark Twain refers in his "Autobiography", 183, 184.

²So far as I know this is the first time any of the above letters have been published.

It was Colonel RoBards who drew up the first bill that was introduced in the Missouri Legislature to provide, at the cost of the State, a suitable monument to Mark Twain. As a result largely of his untiring efforts, both before the bill was passed and as secretary of the commission authorized to carry it out, there stands today in Riverview Park, Hannibal, that life-like statue of Mark Twain. It overlooks the lordly Mississippi, and into the eyes, the genius of the sculptor, Mr. Hibbard has put that questioning expression that seeks so hard to penetrate the universal mystery and asks the eternal "why."

Colonel RoBards spent much time upon an appropriate inscription for the monument. The inscription as it was finally adopted and placed upon the monument is one suggested by Albert Bigelow Paine. It reads: "His religion was humanity, and a whole world mourned when he died." Colonel RoBards very strenuously objected to the first clause. He contended that "humanity" was but a part of Mark Twain's religion. Over and over again in his note book I find his suggested inscriptions, carefully revised and worded so as to show that Mark Twain's religion was not confined to the phrase "humanity". Also I find he has copied many expressions from Mark Twain's writings to show that he believed in God, prayer, immortality, as well as in humanity. I am not here arguing the point, but only trying to present Colonel RoBard's point of view concerning the religion of Mark Twain.

Theirs was a friendship that lasted almost seventy years. It was characterized by mutual love and respect. Colonel RoBards was ever sensitive and alert to anything that affected Mark Twain. The quotations, both from the "Autobiography" and the letters prove that among the friends of his childhood John RoBards ever occupied a warm spot in the great humorist's heart. They also prove that Mark Twain had that wonderful quality of friendship that never permitted the successes and the friendships of later years to obliterate the memories and friendships of his early years.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ENOCH H. CROWDER

BY C. B. ROLLINS

My acquaintance with General Enoch Herbert Crowder dates from June, 1885, when, a dapper young lieutenant, a few years out of West Point, he was detailed as professor of military science and tactics and commandant of cadets at the University of Missouri.

I distinctly recall our first meeting. He brought a letter to my father, James S. Rollins, who was president of the Board of Curators of the University. He came to my father's house in the evening and stayed to dinner with us. I remember that former Governor B. Gratz Brown was with us at the time. During the dinner-hour my father put the young lieutenant through a rather searching quiz, as to the place of his birth, who appointed him to West Point, how he liked the academy, how he ranked in his class, his war experience since his graduation, if he intended to make the profession of arms his life work, etc.

To all these questions the young lieutenant gave prompt, clear, and forceful answers. I recall at breakfast the next morning, Governor Brown said: "I was impressed by the young man who dined with us last night and if I am not mistaken we shall hear from that young soldier hereafter; he has traits of character which will carry him far." This was the estimate of a mature, able man after an hour's acquaintance with Lieutenant Crowder.

I recall that in 1887, Governor Crittenden expressed identically the same opinion, after a short acquaintance. I discovered, very shortly that Lieutenant Crowder had in a marked degree that valuable trait, or faculty, which few men possess, of making friends, and of impressing himself upon them, seemingly without effort on his part, for he was peculiarly modest and retiring.

In September, 1885, he came to take up his duties as professor of military science and tactics and commandant of the cadet battalion at the University, and in a short time he was one of the most popular men on the faculty, highly regarded

by all who knew him. He promptly whipped the battalion into fine shape and the daily drills and reviews he inaugurated were sources of interest to the citizens of the town. He was full of resources and suggestions. He revamped and put on an efficient working basis the hitherto perfunctory military department. Through his efforts the General Assembly made the cadet corps part of the State national guard, and authorized each member of the Legislature to appoint cadets from his district.

During his appointment here, with all his other duties, and without neglecting any of them, he completed the prescribed course of law in the law department, passed the required State bar examinations, and was admitted to practice in all the courts of the State. Here was laid the foundation for that legal training which stood the country in such stead in later years. Although a rigid, strict disciplinarian in handling the cadet corps, he was yet honored and loved, and when his appointment here expired, a petition was presented to the Board of Curators, asking the War Department to renew his detail. The marked traits in young Crowder's character at that time, were executive ability, efficiency, energy, and a rare talent for accomplishments. With no effort seemingly, on his part, certainly with no friction, he accomplished whatever he set his hand to. Lieutenant Crowder was a fine horseman, practically and theoretically; a capital rifle shot, and the finest dancer that ever led the german. He was the beau-ideal of the girls, and the toast of the young men, albeit a trifle envied by all of them.

He was of an investigating turn, rode horseback all over the county, and within a year of his coming here knew more about its topography and its people than many older citizens. One of the county's most prominent farmers was so impressed with the buoyant activity of the young lieutenant, that he straightway brevetted him "Colonel". This farmer was an importer and breeder of fine jacks, and as the highest compliment he could pay the young soldier, named his finest imported Spanish jack, "Colonel Crowder". A year later when the farmer had a great auction sale of his fine animals, "Colonel Crowder" was knocked down to the highest bidder

at a price double that of any other. The farmer claimed it was due to the sterling character of his illustrious namesake.

Of the later achievements of General Crowder, I shall not speak in detail here. They are known to the country. His noted record and services as legal adviser to the military governor of the Philippines, his services as military observer in Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, his invaluable services in Cuba, and later his appointment as judge advocate general, with the rank of brigadier general—his noted record in all these—and finally in that greatest act of his great career, the most far reaching act in the winning of the World war, the drafting and enforcement of the Selective Service Act, place General Crowder on a pedestal apart, and make him one of the outstanding Americans of the century. He ranks, deservedly, among the ablest men of Missouri and his native state is justly proud of him.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—HENRY BRUERE

Written by John F. Sinclair, of New York, in the *Kansas City Star*, January 17, 1931.

Some men reach business success by sticking to just one thing. They go to high school or college, graduate, enter a business, and stay with that particular business until they reach the top.

Others do just the reverse. Take the case of Henry Bruere, just elected president of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York—the largest savings bank in the world, with deposits of more than 400 million dollars.

Mr. Bruere was born at St. Charles, Mo., forty-nine years ago. After two years at Cornell, he went to the University of Chicago, where he received a degree in 1901. Then he went to Harvard law school, and ended his university work by a course at the New York university law school.

After this he became a director in a boys' club at Dennison House in Boston, and a director of the Highland Union Working Men's Club a year later.

Again back to Chicago, where he became organizer and director of the McCormick Works Men's Club and technical

school. In 1903 he made an investigation of the industrial welfare work for the International Harvester Company. By 1905 he moved again, and investigated the public baths of New York for the Association for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor. He became a director of the bureau of city betterments a year later and then a director of the bureau of municipal research in New York City from 1907 to 1914.

When John Purroy Mitchell was elected mayor of New York, Henry Bruere, a friend, became city chamberlain and held the job for two years, and was in charge of the administrative reorganization of the city government. He made many administrative surveys, became an expert in accounting and auditing—a much underestimated field even today. Next, in 1911, he made an administrative survey of ten commissioned-governed American cities, and in 1912 of six German cities. In 1918 he became federal director of the United States employment service in the State of New York.

About that time, the American Metal Company, Ltd., wanted a man of the Bruere type, and he joined their organization as vice-president, and served with them until 1923, when he went as vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to undertake certain statistical work. There he stayed four years, and in 1927 he was made the first vice-president and treasurer of the Bowery Savings Bank. This week he was made president.

During 1917 and 1918, he was the financial adviser to the republic of Mexico.

Mr. Bruere has led a busy life. He is wiry, intelligent, quick at understanding social problems, and is both a good speaker and an excellent writer. He is the author of several books—"The New City Government," "Applied Budgeting" and "Profitable Personal Practice."

So there's more than one way to reach the top.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—ARTHUR L. DAVIS

Arthur L. Davis is a native Missourian whose work in the field of chemistry has brought him signal success and recently has put him in charge of the patent work with the Doherty Research Company of New York.

He was born near Kearney, thirty-four years ago, attended the public schools in Clay county and was graduated from William Jewell college in 1916. For two years he was graduate assistant in chemistry at M. U. and received his M. A. in 1918.

Since then he has been connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with the Geophysical Laboratory at Washington, while in the Chemical Warfare Service in the U. S. Army; with Standard Oil and with Empire Oil and Refining Company as chief chemist. Mr. Davis has been located in Oklahoma since 1924 and was admitted to the Oklahoma bar in 1929.—*Kansas City Star*, February 22, 1931.

ALLEN AND WELLMAN DATA WANTED

The family names Allen and Wellman are typical representatives of early American families. The history of practically every state, including the State of Missouri, affords evidence of their presence. An extensive research and historical study of these families is now being made, particularly of the descendants of William Wellman, from England to Plymouth in 1639-40; of Jerod and Michael Wellman, from England to Virginia, exact date not yet fully established; and of the Ethan Allen family, whose progenitors it is now believed came from the Isle of Man. Enquiries and historical data from Allen or Wellman descendants will be welcomed and acknowledged by addressing Lucius E. Allen, 162 Rhode Island Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

NOTES

Missouri history is being taught in 31 first class high schools in the State, according to the Department of Education *Bulletin*, February, 1931.

Mrs. J. M. Patterson, said to be "the first newspaper woman west of the Mississippi," and who has been writing for the Marshall *Daily Democrat News* since its organization as the *Daily News*, June 28, 1879, relinquishes her reportorial duties February 18, 1931, according to the *Weekly Democrat-News* of February 12. On this date she reaches her nintieth birthday.

The Cape Girardeau County Historical Society met in the Carnegie Library, Cape Girardeau, January 18, 1931, and President R. B. Oliver, presided. A biographical sketch of Judge Drum, pioneer of Applecreek township, was read by J. W. Roberts, and the following donations were filed among the archives of the Society: Judge Sam M. Green manuscripts; letter of John D. Ancell to Capt. Elisha Sheppard, Oct. 6, 1844; two copies of the Cape Girardeau *Eagle*, a paper which was published there from 1857 to 1861. A resume of conditions obtaining at that time was presented, based on the *Eagle* of December 24, 1857. Pioneer merchants, institutions and markets were discussed. The Society adjourned, to meet again at Jackson, March 16, 1931.—Excerpt from the Jackson, *Cape County Post*, January 29, 1931.

Two descendants of Samuel Washington, brother of George Washington, who live in Garden City, Missouri, are to receive the aid of the Garden City Chamber of Commerce. They are Thornton A. Washington and Marion Wallace Washington, and Mr. Washington has been unable to engage in his profession, pharmacy, for several years due to his advanced age. A home is to be remodeled and fitted out for them. The Society of the Cincinnati in Virginia, an organization of descendants of Revolutionary officers, has contributed \$100 to the fund.—Kansas City *Star*, Feb. 22, 1931.

How Linn Creek buildings and homes were moved about three miles up the valley, and how the new site was named Esterville, also known as the New Linn Creek, is described by Docia Karell in the *Springfield Leader* of January 30, 1931. The following issue describes the town of Damsite, and the *News-Leader* of Sunday, February 1, 1931, describes the Bagnell dam and its construction.

A dispatch from LaGrange, Missouri, printed in the *Kirkville Daily Express* of January 14, 1931, describes a fragment of a mastodon tusk believed to have originally been more than three feet long. It was unearthed by workmen of the State Highway Department near LaGrange, and is to be on exhibition in the State Highway Building, in Jefferson City.

The *Columbia Tribune* of January 27, 1931, is called the "Gay Nineties" edition because it is made up of historical, reminiscent, and feature articles of Columbia and the surrounding country in the 1890's.

The second brick house to be erected in Kansas City, built in 1829 by Pierre Chouteau, is still standing at 210 Missouri avenue, according to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of February 1, 1931.

Ralph Waldo Powell, member of the house of representatives from Stone county, was Harold Bell Wright's inspiration for the character, Ollie Stewart in his novel, "The Shepherd of the Hills." When the author went into the hills of Stone county, Mr. Powell was attending college, not a wide practice in that section in those days. This is credited with inspiring the novelist to create the character. Mr. Powell is a personal friend of the author and frequently served as a guide to the writer on trips through the hill country. Powell is the owner of Fairy Cave, one of the scenic attractions in the Lake Taneycomo region. From the representative's father, Truman

Powell, Wright obtained much of the legendary background for "The Shepherd of the Hills."—*Kansas City Star*, February 1, 1931.

When Eugene and Roswell Field worked on the *Kansas City Times* they lived in a three-story brick apartment house at 406-408 Aldine Place, according to the *Times* of January 26, 1931. A picture of the house is given.

The history of the State Flag of Missouri, which was designed by Mrs. Robert Burett Oliver, and approved officially March 22, 1913, is given in the proceedings of the Thirty-First State Conference, Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution, 1930.

The authorship of the world famous "Lafayette, we are here!" expression, so often attributed to General Pershing, is credited by him to Col. C. E. Stanton, retired, of San Francisco, California. This is revealed in Chapter 7 of "My Experiences in the World War," by General Pershing.—*Kansas City Star*, January 18, 1931.

An agreement by which William G. Harrington was to transport four men to the gold fields of California during the gold rush in 1850, is part of the records at the County Court-house in Jackson, Missouri.

The four men, C. C. Green, F. G. Daugherty, Z. P. Lail and John Summers, wishing to go to California, signed a bond with Harrington in which he agreed to transport them from Independence, Mo., to Sutter's Fort in California, the cost being \$200 each. This amount was paid and the bond signed March 20, 1850.

Harrington agreed to provide carriages, ponies and mules. The party was to start from Independence May 1, 1850.

Each man was to be furnished with food by Harrington "such as is usually supplied passengers going in a train on said route," and each was allowed 50 pounds of baggage besides a rifle and accouterments.

At the end of the journey, according to the bond, Harrington was to sell the cooking vessels and one tent to the four men at cost. Harrington, together with J. P. Edinger, agreed to pay each man \$500 damages if the contract were not fulfilled.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 6, 1931.

Longview, Washington, the city built by R. A. Long, Kansas Citian, since 1923, is described in a lengthy article by Harry T. Brundidge in the *St. Louis Star*, February 25, 1931.

A short biographical sketch of Caleb Thomas, of Glasgow, Missouri, who served with the Sixth Missouri Regiment during the Civil war, appears in the December, 1930, issue of the *Confederate Veteran*.

The 1930-31 edition of *Who's Who* lists 708 Missourians, 27 of whom are women. A resume of the works of these women is given in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of January 10, 1931.

Seventy-five years ago the steamboat "Arabia" sank in the Missouri river near Parkville, according to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of February 15, 1931. The cargo was mainly whisky. Many other famous wrecks are described in the same article.

The first building and loan association in Missouri was the Kansas City Building and Savings Association, organized in 1868, according to the *Kansas City Star* of December 28, 1930. Mr. R. J. Richardson, secretary of the Missouri State League of Building and Loan Associations, is compiling a history of such organizations in Missouri.

The country home of Mr. James L. Wilcox, editor of the *Ashland Bugle*, in Boone county, is being refitted with pioneer furnishings, "in order to have a place which will show the rising generation how pioneer Boone countians lived."—*Kansas City Journal-Post*, February 22, 1931.

The historic Texas County courthouse, at Houston, Missouri, was destroyed by fire during the night of December 14, 1930. The loss is estimated at \$60,000.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of December 16, 1930.

In the *St. Louis Star* of December 13, 1930, appears a special real estate section prefaced by a historical sketch of St. Louis and several pictures of pioneer St. Louis. A description of the first telephones in St. Louis, installed in 1877, is given also.

A descriptive sketch of the church in Peirce City where Harold Bell Wright was pastor for a year and a half, is in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of December 7, 1930. A picture of the church and of Mr. Wright taken in 1897, accompanies the story.

Publication of "My Experiences in the World War," by General John J. Pershing began in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and the *Kansas City Star*, on January 12, 1931.

"Pershing, the Master of a Million Men Found Glory Enough in Army's Victory," by Col. Frederick Palmer, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of January 11, 1931.

Stories of the first automobiles in Kansas City appear in the *Kansas City Star*, February 8, 1931. One constructed in 1895 antedates the others.

"Linn Creek, the Deserted Village," is the title of an article in the *Columbia, Missourian Magazine*, January 31, 1931.

"Miller County Beginnings," in the *Tuscumbia Miller County Autogram* of January 1, 1931, is the first of a series of five articles concerning early events and the beginnings of various activities in the history of Miller county, written by Gerard Schultz, of Iberia Junior College, Iberia, Missouri.

The history of Springfield's streets and street railway system following 1869 is described by A. M. Haswell in the *Springfield News-Leader* of February 1, 1931.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Richard M. Brashear, who lives near Eolia, Missouri, appears in the *Kirksville Daily Express* of January 14, 1931. He was born January 13, 1846. In 1871 when citizens failed to secure a depot for Paultown, now defunct, he secured the erection of a station at what is now Brashear, so the town was named in his honor.

Verses from several old time songs were quoted by Mrs. Emma C. Durland, 84, of Kansas City, for the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of March 1, 1931. The songs include: "The Old Log Barn," "The Bended Bow," "The Switzerland Girl," "The Tea Party," and "The Mistletoe Bough."

A lengthy article describing the Indian treaty of September, 1808, which was consummated at Fort Osage, near the present town of Sibley, in Jackson county, appears in the *Kansas City Star*, of February 16, 1931. It is based on the book "Indians and Pioneers," by Grant Foreman, which was published by the Yale University Press.

The impeachment of Hon. Albert Jackson, judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit, in 1859, is recounted in the *Kansas City Star* of February 25, 1931. J. Proctor Knott was the prosecutor who participated in the trial.

A historical sketch of the present courthouse of Newton county, erected in 1878, appears in the *Kansas City Times*, February 26, 1931.

The interesting history of Rex McDonald, famous Missouri horse, appears in the February, 1931, issue of *Saddle and Bridle*, published in St. Louis. It is written by C. P. Cauthorn. A part of the article is reprinted in the *St. Louis Star* of February 25, 1931.

"The Beginnings of Permanent English Lutheran Work in Missouri," by Dr. P. E. Kretzmann, appears in the Concordia Historical Institute *Quarterly* (St. Louis), of January, 1931.

ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIALS

The St. Louis Board of Education approved the naming of the "John H. Schroeder School" in honor of a pioneer immigrant grocer of St. Louis, according to the St. Louis *Star* of February 16, 1931.

A life sized statue of a Hopi Indian bird charmer has been donated to Forest Park by Mr. Augustus Maschmeyer, of St. Louis, as a memorial to his first wife, Mrs. Jessie Tennile Maschmeyer. It was designed by Walter Hancock, of St. Louis.—St. Louis *Star*, Jan. 30, 1931.

Sunday evening, January 4, 1931, a memorial service was held at the Warrensburg Presbyterian Church, according to the Warrensburg *Standard-Herald* of January 9. Miss Lizzie Grover, in a talk before the congregation, gave a historical sketch of Warrensburg and its pioneers, as well as the history of the Presbyterian Church there.

The League of Women Voters will unveil a tablet at Jefferson City, January 21, to Missouri pioneers in the women's suffrage movement, reports the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, January 19, 1931. . . . The tablet bears the names of fifty-five women. . . . The Missouri Women's Suffrage Association, organized in St. Louis in 1867, was the first organization having women's suffrage as its sole object ever formed.

Lindbergh Boulevard is the new name adopted for the former Denny Road and connecting roads in St. Louis county. The final plan will provide a wide paved boulevard which almost completely encircles the city of St. Louis.—St. Louis *Star*, December 13, 1930.

The county court (of Jackson county) today voted to purchase a small tract of land on Van Horn road between Brookside road and Glenwood avenue, for use as a county park, memorializing a treaty with the Osage Indians which opened western and southwestern Missouri to settlement. The county will pay \$40 a foot for the tract, which is 157 feet wide. Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution have agreed to construct a monument on the park. The county already owns one lot adjoining the tract....—*Kansas City Journal-Post*, March 3, 1931.

The proposed Pershing National Park, near Laclede, Missouri, was informally dedicated December 31, 1930.

The 100th anniversary of the organization of Monroe county occurred January 6, 1931, and plans are being made for a celebration to be held during the summer of 1931.—*Kansas City Times*, January 5, 1931.

A portrait painting of John Lewis Barkley, Missouri ex-soldier and author of *No Hard Feelings*, has been presented to the State of Missouri by the Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, and is to be hung in the State Capitol. The painting is by Howard Chandler Christy, and is the only one of a World War veteran which he has painted.—Holden *Enterprise* of December 18, 1930.

A sketch of the life of the late Professor Sidney Abram Weltmer, educator and public benefactor, is given in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of December 14, 1930. It was he who founded Weltmer Institute in Nevada, Missouri.

Mr. Jacob Carter Keithley, of near Marshall, celebrated his 100th anniversary March 4, 1931. His long life and his services are described in the *Kansas City Times*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of March 3, 1931.

Mrs. Nancy J. Manley, 83, of near Springfield, who was an eyewitness to the Battle of Wilson's Creek, died January 28, 1931. Her home was in the middle of the battle field.

Dr. John O'Fallon Delaney, of St. Louis, died December 9, 1930, at the age of 89. He was the last survivor of the Indian expedition to Fort Benton under Father DeSmet, conducted during 1862.

The first of a series of twelve projected volumes of *The Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* has just been released by the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. The work is edited by Dr. Isidor Loeb of Washington University, St. Louis, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the Historical Society.

Bringing to light as it does the debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1875 some fifty-five years after the meeting of the convention, the newly begun work constitutes a publication of intense historical significance. Never before have the debates of the delegates who framed Missouri's present Constitution been accessible in printed form. The publication of these debates opens a vast field of constitutional study in Missouri, and supplements fully, *The Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1875*, published by the Historical Society in 1920.

The present volume covers the debates of the first twelve days of the convention, from May 5 to May 18, there having been no sessions on May 9 and May 16.

A preface to the first volume has been written by Mr. Shoemaker, and an introduction has been written by Dr. Loeb. The first volume contains 576 pages.

Copies of volume one of the debates may be obtained from the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. The price is \$1.25 postpaid in Missouri and \$1.45 postpaid outside of Missouri.

The twelfth volume of *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, containing the official communications of Governors Arthur M. Hyde and Samuel

A. Baker, has been published recently. (The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; Sarah Guitar and Floyd C. Shoemaker, compilers, 1930.)

The release of the twelfth volume of this work completes the publication of the official communications of Missouri's governors up to the term of the present incumbent, giving the book an element of timeliness as well as a place as an historical publication.

In general, the twelfth volume of *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* is patterned after those that have preceded it. Each section of the book, devoted to one governor, gives his messages, his veto messages, special messages, proclamations, and memoranda of proclamations and writs of elections.

Portraits of the two governors precede the biographies of each which have been written especially for this publication. Judge Frank E. Atwood has written the biography of former Governor Hyde, and Dr. Eugene Fair, president of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, has written the biography of former Governor Baker.

Copies of the book may be obtained from the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia for \$1.25 in Missouri, and \$1.45 outside of Missouri, postpaid in both cases.

Richard Bartholdt, Congressman from St. Louis for 22 years, has recorded in his book, "From Steerage to Congress", not only the story of his own life, but the story of national and international affairs of his time. Giving, as it does, his personal view on great public issues, Mr. Bartholdt's book is an interesting addition to the all too small list of biographies of Missouri's public men. (Dorrance and Co., Philadelphia, 1930).

An interpretation of the "German character" is primarily the motive of the book. This interpretation is outspoken, and comes with directness from one who was born in Germany, and found honor and acclaim in his adopted country. In one sense, particularly in Missouri, Mr. Bartholdt's career is significant as the connecting link between the times of Carl Schurz and the present.

The title of Mr. Bartholdt's book is somewhat misleading. Instead of couching his story around the events of his life alone, he reviews the drama of national and international events, and in proper proportion, shows how he was a part of those events. Of course the events of his own life comprise an important part of the book, but Mr. Bartholdt has viewed the wider aspects of modern life, and in relating their significance, gives his own philosophy and opinion.

Some of the absorbing highlights of the book are Bartholdt's interview and luncheon with the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, of Germany; his talk with the German Kaiser, and his teaching the German language to Theodore Roosevelt.

Bartholdt will undoubtedly be best known to history for his work on behalf of international peace. A review of the work of the Interparliamentary Union, of which Bartholdt was for a long time the leading exponent in this country, comprises a major portion of the book. This work in the interest of international peace, which occupied much of Bartholdt's time in later years, is what gives his career a significance of international breadth.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has received a copy of the compiled early writings of the great Missouri author, Mark Twain, recently issued by Willard S. Morse of Santa Monica, California. The book is one of a limited edition of twelve made by Mr. Morse, who is one of the foremost Mark Twain collectors of the United States.

The publication is known as "Mark Twain's Early Writings" and is composed of photostatic reproductions of the earliest known writings of Mark Twain which appeared in the Hannibal, Missouri, newspapers of the early 1850's when the author worked as an apprentice printer there. The articles identified as Mark Twain's have been reproduced from the files of the *Hannibal Journal*, *Hannibal Journal and Western Union*, and the *Missouri Courier*. Articles in the *Tri-Weekly Messenger*, a competitor newspaper, are included in the collection when their matter concerns articles written by young Samuel Clemens.

The selections used in making the book were obtained from the files of the "League Collection" of Hannibal newspapers, now kept by the State Historical Society of Missouri. This collection was given to the Society in 1926 and 1927 by Miss Nettie A. League of Hannibal in memory of her father, William T. League. Mr. League in 1852 became editor of the Hannibal *Whig Messenger*, and he not only made a practice of binding the files of his own paper, but he saved the files of other Hannibal newspapers. It was in this manner that the papers containing the first writings of Mark Twain were preserved.

Today the only known copies of the newspapers in which young Samuel Clemens' literary efforts are recorded, are those which were saved from destruction by Mr. League.

Writings by Mark Twain in these Hannibal newspapers were identified by three persons, all Missourians. Dr. Minnie M. Brashear of Columbia has published her findings in the March, 1930, issue of *American Literature* under the title of "Mark Twain Juvenilia". The Rev. Dr. C. J. Armstrong of Hannibal, has published the results of his researches in the *Missouri Historical Review* of July, 1930; the title was "Mark Twain's Early Writings Discovered." Copies of these two articles are included with the book as compiled by Mr. Morse. Other writings by Mark Twain were discovered by Roy King of the State Historical Society of Missouri, principally the first letter known to have been written by Samuel Clemens, dated August 24, 1853.

One of the most striking finds that the Hannibal papers revealed was the three wood cuts, drawn by young Clemens to illustrate a bitter newspaper rivalry between the beginning author and an opposition editor. The discovery of these cuts, and their accompanying stories, bears out Mark Twain's own account of his "First Literary Venture," with some variations.

PERSONALS

WILLIAM H. AGNEW: Died at Rochester, Minnesota, February 13, 1931. The Reverend Father Agnew pursued his ecclesiastical studies at St. Louis University until 1916. Four years later he was appointed editor of the *Queen's Work*, a national sodality organ published in St. Louis. In 1922 he was appointed president of Loyola College, Chicago, and is credited with making several beneficial changes in the school. He was transferred to Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, in 1928, a position which he occupied at the time of his death.

THEKLA MARIE BERNAYS: Born at Highland, Illinois, in 1855; died in New York City, January 30, 1931. She was the daughter of Dr. George J. Bernays, prominent St. Louis physician. Early in life she moved with her family to St. Louis. She was educated in McKendree College, and Heidelberg University, in Germany. For a time she was a foreign correspondent of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*; later she was one of the organizers of the woman suffrage movement in St. Louis. She was well known for her contributions to *Reedy's Mirror*, and the *Westliche Post*, both of St. Louis. She wrote on philosophy and music, and for the *Westliche Post* had written in German. She had translated several German works, and after the death of her brother, Dr. Augustus C. Bernays, edited his memoirs. She had lived in New York City for the past ten years. Burial was in Bellefontaine Cemetery, in St. Louis.

RICHARD A. BYWATERS: Died near Camden Point, Missouri, January 26, 1931. He was educated in William Jewell College, at Liberty, Missouri, being graduated in 1898. During 1896-97 he was one of the organizers of the Alpha Omega Chapter of Kappa Sigma Fraternity. At the time of his death he was presiding judge of Platte county.

BOONE W. CLARKE: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, November 3, 1875; died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 10, 1931. He was educated in Christian Brothers College, and Washing-

ton University Medical School. For sixteen years preceding his death he was editor and publisher of *The Civic Review*, in St. Louis. He served as vice-chairman of the Citizen's City Plan Committee, as chairman of the Engineering and Sanitation Committee of the City Plan Commission, vice-chairman of the Citizen's Bond Campaign Committee, and president of the West End Business Men's Association.

SAM B. COOK: Born in Front Royal, Virginia, January 11, 1852; died in Jefferson City, Missouri, February 4, 1931. His family moved to Missouri during his boyhood, and resided in Washington county until 1864, then moved to Warren county. He was educated in the public schools of these counties. At the age of twenty-six he was elected sheriff and collector of Warren county, and reelected in 1880. He also engaged in banking in Warrenton. In 1885 he moved to Mexico and for several years was editor and publisher of the *Mexico Intelligencer*. In 1892 he was secretary of the Democratic State Committee, and served as chairman of the committee from 1896 to 1900. He was elected secretary of state in 1900 and served one term. In 1916 he was elected to the State Senate from the 27th district, and served four years. Since 1905 he had been president of the Central Missouri Trust Company of Jefferson City.

HUGH DABB: Born in Rocky Comfort, McDonald county, Missouri, in 1867; died in Joplin, Missouri, December 12, 1930. He was graduated from the Law School of the University of Missouri in 1892. Then he returned to his home to begin practice and in 1894 was elected prosecuting attorney of McDonald county, serving one term. Shortly after this Mr. Dabb moved to Neosho and continued his practice until 1901 when he moved to Joplin. A few years later he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the circuit bench. He did not seek reelection and held no other public offices thereafter.

WALTER S. DICKEY: Born in Toronto, Canada, June 26, 1862; died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 22, 1931. He was educated and reared in his native city, and in 1885 moved to Kansas City to engage in the manufacture of tiling and

drain pipes. This industry he continued until his death. In 1900 he was elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention, and was county chairman of the campaign. In 1908 he was chairman of the State Committee. In 1916 he was nominated for the Senate but was defeated by James A. Reed. He held several other political party offices. He was a leader in the Missouri Waterways Improvement plans, and during the war was vice-chairman of the inland waterway committee of the Council of Defense. In 1921 he became owner of the *Kansas City Journal*, and also the *Post*. These were consolidated and two years ago the *Post* was discontinued. He was president of the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company. He held many public and civic positions of trust. Mr. Dickey was a member and vice-president of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JAMES HARVEY GARRISON: Born near Ozark, Missouri, in 1843; died in Los Angeles, California, January 14, 1931. He left school in order to enlist in the 24th Missouri Vounteer Infantry, a Federal command. He served until the end of the Civil war, and rose to the rank of captain. He then attended Abingdon College, Abingdon, Illinois. After preaching for several years he began editing a church paper. When the paper which became the *Christian Evangelist* was established in St. Louis Dr. Garrison became its active editor serving until 1912, and a contributing editor thereafter. He served two Disciples of Christ pastorates of two years each, one in Boston and one in Southport, England. He was one of the founders of the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis. He was widely known as a speaker and author. Burial was in Los Angeles.

THEODORE KILLIAN GASH: Born at Gashland, Clay county, Missouri, December 24, 1838; died at Kansas City, Missouri, January 26, 1931. He was educated in the public schools of his native county, and later attended Pleasant Ridge Academy, at Pleasant Ridge, Missouri. At the outbreak of the Civil war he joined the Confederate army, serving under Generals Price, Buford, and Shelby. He was wounded once at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and again at Perryville.

Returning to Gashland, a town which was founded by members of his family, at the close of the war he was elected to the Thirty-Fifth General Assembly, and in 1892 was elected State Senator from the Third District. He spent the greater part of his life in agricultural and merchandising pursuits. He had lived in Kansas City since his retirement about 1915.

WILLIAM JOHN HALL: Born in London, England, February 2, 1870; died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 9, 1931. He studied music in England, France, Germany and Italy, and was a soloist in London churches at the age of eight. After coming to the United States he was dean of music at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, and the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, College of Music. He wrote thirteen operas, three cantatas, two tone poems for symphony orchestras, as well as several songs and pieces for piano and organ. He appeared several times as tenor soloist with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra and was nationally known as a song recitalist and concert organist. For the last eleven years of his life he supervised music courses at Soldan High School. He headed the Missouri State Music Teachers Association, the Missouri Chapter of the American Guild of Organists and the St. Louis Chapter of the National Association of Organists. He had degrees of Doctor of Music from Griswold College, the Organists' Guild, Oxford University, London College of Music, and the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences.

DAVID H. HARRIS: Born near Deer Park, Boone county, Missouri, June 21, 1866; died in Columbia, Missouri, December 11, 1930. He was educated in the University of Missouri, where he studied law, being graduated in 1887 and admitted to the bar the same year. Following his graduation he moved to Fulton to begin practice. He was city attorney of Fulton in 1893 and 1894, and was elected prosecuting attorney of Callaway county in 1894. He served in this office for four terms, and resigned in 1902 to reenter private practice. Following his graduation from school he became captain of Company B, first battalion, M. N. G. (unattached). He raised a company for service in the Spanish-American war. In 1909 the 34th Judicial Circuit was organized, being composed of

Boone and Callaway counties, and Judge N. D. Thurmond was appointed to preside until the next general election. At this time Judge Harris was elected on the Democratic ticket. He was reelected in 1916 and 1922. During 1909-1910 he was chairman of the Statute Revision Commission. He served several terms as vice-president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and as Moderator of the Missouri Baptist General Association, and the Little Bonne Femme Association. His home was in Fulton. Burial was in the Harris Family Cemetery, one-half mile south of Deer Park.

ALFRED L. HARTY: Born in Stoddard county, Missouri, November 3, 1869; died in New Madrid, Missouri, March 4, 1931. He was educated in the public schools and in Christian Brothers College, St. Louis. As his first business venture he operated a drug store. He became interested in politics and was soon appointed to the dual office of deputy recorder and deputy county tax collector; this was in 1893. In 1896 he was elected county collector, and served for three terms. He organized the Stoddard County Trust Company, and was its president for several years. During 1918-1921 he was State Insurance Commissioner, and during 1921-1924 he was treasurer of the International Life Insurance Company of St. Louis. He resigned the latter position to become president of the Southeast Missouri Trust Company and the Sturdivant Bank at Cape Girardeau. He held this position until the merger of the two banks in 1930. He was chairman of the board of supervisors of the Little River Drainage District one year, and a member for several years. He had recently been elected president of the Missouri National Life Insurance Company, at Jefferson City. His home was in Cape Girardeau. Burial was in Bloomfield.

ANTHONY ITTNER: Born in Lebanon, Ohio, October 8, 1837; died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 22, 1931. He came to St. Louis with his parents when he was seven years old. At the age of nine he began work in a lead factory, and soon thereafter worked in a brick yard. He progressed steadily and he and his brother formed the Ittner Brick Company in 1859. Seven years later this became the Anthony Ittner

Brick Company. During the Civil war he was a soldier for the Union. In 1867 and 1868 he was a member of the city council of St. Louis, and in 1868 was elected representative to the Missouri General Assembly. In 1870 he was elected to the State Senate, being reelected in 1874 and 1876. He was subsequently elected to the Forty-Fifth Congress. He was at one time a member of the Board of Directors of the Missouri Historical Society and he actively promoted the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. He had held responsible positions in several trade organizations and civic bodies.

DANIEL WEBSTER BOONE KURTZ: Born in Howard county, Missouri, February 17, 1838; died in Columbia, Missouri, December 7, 1930. He entered the University of Missouri in 1859 but at the outbreak of the Civil war enlisted in the Confederate army. Following the war he returned and was graduated in 1866, then taught in the school until 1872. He then founded Montgomery College in Montgomery City. Next he engaged in farming. He was elected to represent Boone county in the 36th General Assembly and successfully sponsored bills for the rebuilding of the University following the disastrous fire of 1892. In many ways he helped the University, and helped secure larger appropriations for its operation. In 1891 he was given a gold headed cane by University students in memory of his efficient services. Several years before his death he was believed to be the oldest living former University teacher.

GRAVES S. LEEPER: Born at Chillicothe, Missouri, May 23, 1854; died at Sherman, Texas, March 2, 1931. He was a descendant of John Graves, founder of Chillicothe, Missouri. At the age of 22 he moved to Texas, and in 1889 went to Oklahoma. He soon returned to Texas but again went to Oklahoma in 1899, making his home in Mountain View. For fifteen years he engaged in the lumber business in Ardmore and Sulphur, and was then elected secretary of state, retiring from office January 1, 1931. Following his retirement he made his home in Sherman, Texas. He was prominent as a humorist and after dinner speaker.

HOMER V. MCCOY: Born March 13, 1884; died at Stockton, Missouri, December 31, 1930. In 1922 he served as deputy probate judge of Cedar county, and was subsequently elected to this office.

A. L. PRESTON: Born in Palo, Illinois, April 3, 1866; died at Liberty, Missouri, January 26, 1931. His early life was spent in Illinois and Texas. Mr. Preston began his newspaper career and served his apprenticeship on the Fort Scott (Kan.) *Daily Tribune* and *Daily News*, at the age of 22 or 23. Several years later he accepted a position on the Nevada (Mo.) *Daily Mail*. He served on this paper eighteen years, much of the time in circulation work. Next he moved to Marshall, about 1910, where he worked on the *Democrat-News*. Mr. Preston gradually bought the stock of this paper until he became its owner, and retained his interest in it until two years before his death. In 1916 he established the Moberly *Index*. When the plant of this paper burned he bought the old Hannibal *Journal* plant and moved it to Moberly where he published the *Index*. About two years later he sold it to the *Monitor*. Soon he acquired an interest in the Boonville *Advertiser*, which he later sold to Edgar C. Nelson. At the time of his death he was owner and editor of the Liberty *Tribune*, and Liberty *Advance*. Mr. Preston was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOHN M. SOSEY: Born in Palmyra, Missouri, April 24, 1868; died in Palmyra, Missouri, January 31, 1931. He was educated in the public schools of his native city, and early in life learned the printing business in the office of the Palmyra *Spectator*, a paper founded by his father in 1839. For forty-two years he was a partner of his brother, Frank, in publishing and editing the *Spectator*. In February, 1923, he sustained a stroke of apoplexy, and was thereafter unable to resume business activity. The last few years of his life were spent in travel. He had been president of the Northeast Missouri Press Association, and was secretary of the Missouri Press Association for seven years. Mr. Sosey was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

ANTHONY D. STANLEY: Born near Jefferson City, Missouri, July 27, 1854; died in Sedalia, Missouri, January 5, 1931. He was educated in the public schools of Pleasant Hill, and in Kemper Family School, now Kemper Military Academy at Boonville. Next he studied banking and commercial law at the Bryant and Stratton Commercial College, St. Louis. He engaged in the banking business at Pleasant Hill shortly after leaving college. For a time he and his associates operated a telephone system in Kansas City. Shortly after 1891 he moved to Sedalia, and worked on the *Sedalia Democrat*. In 1906 he bought the controlling interest in the newspaper company. In 1907 the *Sentinel* was absorbed by the *Democrat*, and since 1920 the *Capital* has been issued by the company of which Mr. Stanley was president. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JAMES TALBERT: Born near Cassville, Missouri; died in Washington, D. C., January 24, 1931. He was educated in the State Teachers College, at Warrensburg. After studying law in Cassville he was admitted to the bar, and subsequently was elected prosecuting attorney of Barry county, in which office he served two terms. During the World war he served as attorney for the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and was then transferred to the United States Shipping Board. He was working on the German war claims at the time of his death, a task which was nearly completed. Burial was in Cassville.

BERRY G. THURMAN: Born in Miller county, Missouri, June 25, 1851; died in Nevada, Missouri, December 29, 1930. He was educated in the public schools of Morgan, Dade and Polk counties, and was graduated from the University of Missouri in the first law class of 1873. He was admitted to the bar in Barton county in June, 1873. The following year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Dade county, and was re-elected in 1878. He served as State Senator in the revision session of 1889. Later he was appointed a member of the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri and was chairman of the executive committee of the Missouri School of Mines, at Rolla. He was elected circuit judge in 1906, in

the 26th judicial circuit, and served until 1928, at which time he resigned. Judge Thurman was a former member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

JOEL KIRTLEY TWYMAN: Born near Armstrong, Missouri, August 14, 1855; died in Armstrong, Missouri, November 20, 1930. His great-grandfather, William Munro, settled near New Franklin in the spring of 1807, having emigrated from Kentucky. Mr. Twyman was educated in the public schools and the old Mount Pleasant Baptist College at Huntsville. He engaged in farming until 1887 when he moved to Armstrong to engage in the livery business. He married Miss Fannie Briggs, December 13, 1877.

MERRITT A. ("DAD") VIOLETTE: Born at Florida, Missouri, in 1849; died in Florida, Missouri, January 30, 1931. He was a youth in Florida when the town was held by Lieutenant U. S. Grant and Federal troops, and he carried the mail between Florida and Paris during this period. He spent several years in the railroad tie business in south Missouri, and for a time lived in Sturgeon. Several years before his death he retired and moved back to Florida to live on his 600-acre farm. Here he engaged in many philanthropies which endeared him to those who came in contact with him. It is related that his mother, known to a later generation as Mrs. Eliza Scott, was present at the birth of Mark Twain. Mr. Violette had a deep regard for Mark Twain. It was he who inspired the movement toward the establishment of the Mark Twain State Park.

CHARLES RHODES WEBB: Born in north Louisiana, April 4, 1848; died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 4, 1931. He moved with his parents to Mississippi at the age of six. He studied law and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one. After two and one-half years of practice he moved to St. Louis and entered newspaper work. This was in 1871 when there were five newspapers there. Between 1872 and 1878 he worked on the *Journal* and was a co-worker with Eugene Field. In 1884 he worked on the Fort Worth (Tex.) *Gazette*, and during part of 1885 he was on the St.

Joseph Gazette. He was assistant city editor of the *Republican* in 1887, assistant city editor of the *Globe-Democrat* in 1888, chief telegraph editor of the latter from 1889 to 1892, night editor of the *Republic* from 1892 to 1895, telegraph editor of the *Past* from 1896 to 1897, and chief telegraph editor of the *Globe-Democrat* from 1898 to 1904. From 1904 to 1928 he was copy editor of the *Globe-Democrat*.

JOHN W. WILKERSON: Born in 1866; died in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, December 24, 1930. For a time he published a newspaper in Smithville, and later became prominent in Democratic state politics. He was a Past Grand Master and former secretary of the I. O. O. F. Grand Lodge of Missouri. His home was in Kansas City.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

MONROE COUNTY'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY

From the *Paris Mercury*, January 9, 1931.

The county of Monroe and the town of Paris were, legislatively speaking, exactly 100 years old on Tuesday, January 10. Plans formed last summer to celebrate the event early in the fall of 1931 are being held in abeyance owing to business conditions, and the drouth, which were not foreseen when the initial meeting was held and an organization perfected. A meeting should be held at an early date to determine the matter.

Monroe county was originally part of Ralls. The first white settlers are believed to have come into the county as early as 1818, the Smith family having located in the eastern part and the Gillett family on North Fork. The Ezra Fox settlement in Union township, the largest colony, dates back to 1826. The main stream of emigration chiefly from Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee, started in 1830 and continued during three decades —up until 1860. At one time the county had 2,000 slaves. It sent 1,500 men into the Confederate army and 600 into the Union army; over 700 to the World war. It was known during the Civil war as "Little North Carolina" and had an entire company in the war with Mexico.

In letters it gave the world Mark Twain, born at Florida, its oldest town, in 1835. To the State it has given four supreme judges, one attorney-general, a state treasurer, two congressmen and two speakers of the lower house. It furnished South Dakota with a governor and Oregon a supreme judge. It has three officers in the regular army and one of them was on Pershing's staff. A native son is vice-president and treasurer of the Sinclair Oil Co., and a Paris girl is among the nation's foremost journalists. In the *Mercury* Monroe county has the oldest newspaper west of the Mississippi river. It was founded in 1837, six years after the organization of the county.

AN OBSTACLE TO REGISTRATION

Written by J. A. W. in *The Land We Love* (Charlotte, N. C.), February, 1869.

Mike D——, a stalwart and jolly son of the Emerald Isle, living at C——, Mo., had long desired to vote, but was afraid to try to register, as it was well known that he was a Democrat, and no loyal Registrar will enroll one of that persuasion in "free Missouri." Just before the registration day, Mike came out, to the astonishment and disgust of his friends and the delight of the "trooly loil," in favor of "nager aquality." He forestalled all argument by declaring that he was ready and willing to "bate any mon in Pike county who daffered in opinion" with him. He was, of course, registered without difficulty, and his vote

being now secure beyond all peradventure, he deigned to explain what he meant by negro equality. "What I mane by nager aquality is this, d'ye mind, that one nager is aqual to another nager, and I'll whale any mon that says he's any better!"

THE FIRST KINDERGARTEN

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1930.

The distinction of having inaugurated the first successful public school kindergarten in the United States is an honor which St. Louis can justly claim. Fifty-seven years ago the first kindergarten in this city was begun in the old Des Peres School building at Michigan Avenue and Iron street, where it stands today still serving the pupils of its district in much the same way it has during the fifty-nine years of its existence.

Today there are 215 public school kindergartens in St. Louis, with an average daily enrollment of 9,279.

While the kindergarten was inaugurated during the superintendency of Dr. William T. Harris, it was Miss Susan E. Blow who had direct charge of the kindergarten and to whom much credit is given for its success. Recently, in the examination of some old records of the Board of Education, the first report of Miss Blow came to light.

It is herewith quoted, in part:

"The experimert of a kindergarten in the Des Peres School was inaugurated with a view to testing the practical effects of Froebel's system. In the summer of 1873 the room was assigned by the School Board for this purpose, and the kindergarten was opened on the first Monday of September of the same year. There were entered on the first day twenty children, and this number was soon increased to forty-two, the total number which the size of the room justified me in receiving.

"In September, 1874, the kindergarten was reopened, and as nearly all the children belonging the previous year were immediately reentered the lack of room prevented the formation of new classes. In December, a second room in the Des Peres School was signed to the kindergarten and forty-five new scholars were entered within a few weeks. The whole number enrolled up to present date is ninety, the actual number belonging seventy-five. These children range from $7\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 years of age, so that an opportunity is afforded of illustrating the system of Froebel in all its phases. . . .

"Personally, however, I feel that the strongest claim of the kindergarten is the happiness it produces. If we can create in children a love for work, we shall have no difficulty in making them persistently industrious; if we can make children love intellectual effort, we shall prolong habits of study beyond school years, and if we can insure to children every day four hours of pleasurable activity without excitement, we lay a strong foundation for a calm, contented and cheerful disposition."

THE "WINDWAGON" OF WESTPORT

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, January 4, 1931. Related by John W. Parker, son of the late Dr. J. W. Parker.

" The Indians had learned they could stampede the oxen and have the white people at their mercy. Father and his friends used to talk about it lots and figured that if it were not for the live stock the Indians would not be nearly so apt to molest the wagon trains. They knew that every bit of transportation and travel helped Westport and they were for Westport, too. Finally it was suggested that if they could use windpower instead of oxen it would solve the problem.

"They figured all the wind that blew so much of the time ought to be good for something, so they decided to build a wagon with sails like a ship and if it worked to build a great one that would haul a lot of loaded wagons behind it. There weren't many sailors around Westport but there was one, a fellow named Thomas; I never did hear any other name except they called him 'Windwagon' afterward.

"He explained just how it ought to work and they made one and ran it to Council Grove and back and it did work splendidly. Everybody got excited

"So they formed a company to build a big one. There was my father, Thomas Adams, J. J. Mastin, 'Windwagon' Thomas, Henry Sager and Benjamin Newson.

"Sager was a wagon maker, Mastin a lawyer, and Newson the Indian agent. They named it the Westport & Santa Fe Overland Navigation Company, and decided to 'splurge' a bit and build a master wagon that would haul a whole train of wagons. So Sager and Thomas together planned and built a wagon twenty-five feet long, seven feet wide and with wheels twelve feet in diameter. The hubs were as big as barrels and actually intended to hold much of the water supply needed in crossing the desert. It had the usual prairie schooner cover and a small deck above where Thomas was to stay and steer it like a ship. The mast was twenty feet high and held a great cloth sail. It was a big powerful wagon, and the Westport & Santa Fe Overland Navigation company was proud of it.

"When it was all done they decided to take it out to Little Santa Fe, out on the prairie, to try it out. They hauled it out there with oxen, with the sails all furled and all those stockholders rode in it and had a great time. All but Dad. He rode along behind on his old white mule.

" 'Come on Doc,' they called, 'leave your mule behind and ride with us.' But he said 'No, I might need that mule.'

"Now Thomas was to guide that windwagon with a stick or lever and the stockholders were to handle those sails, taking them in if there was too much wind or letting them out as the case might be. The oxen were unhitched and since it didn't seem very windy they spread all the sail.

"Of course it took some time to start that big wagon but it was easier after it got moving and maybe the wind rose. Anyway it trundled right along after it started and picked up speed something wonderful. Dad had to spur the old mule to keep up and the men shouted, they were so pleased.

"Maybe it would have been all right if they had taken in some sail in time or maybe Thomas got to showing off, but it went faster and faster and when one of the men looked back and saw Dad coming as fast as ever the mule could go, and losing, he quit laughing and cheering and just dropped out of the hind end of the wagon.

"He rolled some, too. Then the others saw Dad and they began to see how fast they were going or at least that it was faster than they had ever gone before, maybe faster than anyone had ever gone for all they knew; so one by one they dropped off and hit rolling; yes, sir, the last one of those fellows rolled off and left Thomas there with that sail spread full out and the wind blowing nearly a gale. Thomas didn't know it; he couldn't see; he kept shouting for them to draw in the sail, not knowing they had deserted him. Dad got left clear out of sight.

"Well, we don't know what happened; some say it headed straight into a ravine and some that Thomas turned it sidewise and the wind turned it around and run it backwards. Anyway it went into a ditch, a good big ditch.

"Thomas jumped or was thrown clear of the wreck and didn't need Dad so much after all his trouble to try to be on hand.

"Well, that windwagon was done for; it lay in that ravine for years and years. Then little by little it was carted off. Why only a few years ago Al Doershuck drove his car out there and got the last souvenir pieces of that old windwagon. He's got a part of the old sideboards in his drug store yet"

(Editor's Note: The date of this windwagon experiment, given at the first of the article, is 1853.)

THE BATTLE OF ATHENS

Reprinted from the Keokuk (Iowa) *Gale City* of January 1922, by the Kahoka (Missouri) *Gazette-Herald*, January 23, 1931.

John T. McKee of Kahoka, Mo., now eighty-one years old, sends the *Gale City* the following interesting account of that famous "Battle of Athens" which was fought on the Des Moines river a few miles north of Keokuk on August 5, 1861.

"Having read in your valuable paper the account of the Athens Battle by Mr. Summers and also by Mr. Forman, I thought maybe many readers would like to hear it from a man who was raised near there and took part in the battle.

"I was born four miles east of Croton on the Joe Hayse place, and father moved four miles south of Athens, April 22, 1846, on the Wm. McKee farm. I attended school in Athens in 1860, hence know the ground around there like a book. I enlisted in the First Northeast Missouri Home

Guards under Col. David Moore, under Capt. Daniel Hull, Company F, Cavalry, June 15, 1861. We made several trips in Clark, Scotland and Knox counties. When we left Kahoka our captain, Daniel Hull, refused to go, saying we were not legally organized. My father having been a Black Hawk soldier, took command of our company. On Sunday morning father was ordered to take four or five men and go out near Chambersburg on picket duty. He took Wm. Ferguson, Wash Collins, Henry McKee, John Schee and one or two more with him. He sent me with a horse across the river to Squire Harlan's and ordered me to report at camp at Athens that night. When I reported at camp that night old man Sullivan told me to get my old double barrel shotgun, for old man Heaton of Big Mound, Ia., had furnished the company with anything from a corn knife to any old kind of a shooting iron. My old gun was in bad shape, one barrel would not shoot at all and the other only part time, but fortunately some muskets had arrived from Keokuk and I was given one of those. The cavalry camped across the street from the school house. Early the next morning I was cook and had pancakes and other things on the fire when, to our surprise, the pickets came riding in.

"Father ordered the boys to get their horses and fall into line. I said, 'Father, breakfast is ready.' He said, 'Never mind about breakfast, the enemy is coming and we are going to have a fight.' Capt. Payne of St. Francisville, took command. We went up the hill to where Harlan and old Capt. Baker lived (Capt. Baker was a rebel captain), then we formed into line to meet the enemy, just eighteen of us. Their cannon came first and there were many men behind the cannon. I stood where I could see them unlimber the gun. There was a man riding the lead horse, a big dun. We were ordered to retreat. I drew my musket on the man on the dun horse, but before I could fire my horse whirled and started to follow our boys. Wash Collins fired his old holister at them and we fled pell mell down the hill.

"Col. Moore had formed his line of infantry, 320 strong, at the old brick kiln, one-fourth mile from where the enemy was drawn up. Our company took a position just behind that of Col. Moore. The cannon was firing over our heads at the time. They fired several balls, then slugs and scrap iron. The rebels were all around us; some on the west down the hollow, some on the hill with the cannon, some down by the cemetery, some at Jane Gray's near the sugar camp. It became too hot for us here so we crossed the river above the mill. Here we fired a number of shots at them from the Iowa side as the enemy came down the hollow. They thought we had been joined by reinforcements and they started to retreat. We again crossed the river and by this time Col. Moore had them on the run. We were ordered to follow.

"Up the hill we went, but could see nothing of them until we got to Bedell's. There we fired a few shots and followed on through the prairie. Then we formed a line just east of John Beidman's. There were about 150 of the enemy across the hollow in the hazelbrush, about one-fourth

mile away. I fired a few shots at them and they soon left that shelter. We followed them, came to Ransom's house, here halted awhile, then pushed on to the Stafford house. Here a number of shots were fired while they were in front of Robert Gray's. These were the last shots exchanged.

"When we got back to Ransom's we found one of the rebels had been shot in the jaw, the bullet going through and showing under the skin on the other side. We had two killed, the old man Sullivan and Preacher Harris (Harrison). There were thirty-four wounded and several of these died. I have the company roll book in my possession now."

CAMDENTON ESTABLISHED

Reprinted from the Springfield *Daily News* by the Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram*, December 11, 1930.

"Camdenton" is the name which has been chosen for the new county seat of Camden county which is to take the place of the one at Linn Creek when the Bagnell power dam has been completed.

The choice of a name for the new county seat, the site of which was designated at the time of the general election on November 4, 1930, was announced in Springfield by John T. Woodruff, who was asked by Camden county citizens to build a new county seat town for them.

"The postoffice department discourages a multiplicity of names for postoffices," said Mr. Woodruff in explaining the choice of "Camdenton." Many of the names which had been proposed for the town in a canvass recently made of the lot owners at the new site are already in use in one or more states in the union, while on the other hand there is not another Camdenton in the country

Aside from the legal complications which might arise from taking some form of the name "Linn Creek" those who are interested in the new county seat felt that the old name rightfully belongs to the fringe of the present town which will remain on the bluff overlooking the lake when the impounded waters of the Osage river have submerged the major portion of the old town.

There are a dozen or more houses and a store which will be left standing, whose owners will want to keep the name, "Linn Creek," and justly so, in the opinion of Mr. Woodruff. Therefore, since it was to be an entirely new town, it was thought best to get an entirely new name, said he.

Camdenton is situated at the junction of rerouted U. S. Highway 54 and state route 5, about four miles and a half south of Linn Creek. The streets have been laid out, a water and light system installed, and several buildings begun. Next spring and summer are expected to witness an extensive building program in Camdenton.

MARK TWAIN ON SPELLING

From the *St. Louis Republican*, May 23, 1875.

There was a spelling match at Asylum Hill Congregational church, Hartford, Conn., on Wednesday evening, and Mr. Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) being called on for a few preliminary remarks, spoke as follows:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have been honored with the office of introducing these approaching orthographical solemnities with a few remarks. The temperance crusade swept the land some time ago—that is, that vast portion of the land where it was needed—but it skipped Hartford. Now comes this new spelling epidemic, and this time *we* are stricken. So I suppose we needed the affliction. I don't say we needed it, for I don't see any use in spelling a word right, and never did. I mean I don't see any use in having a uniform and arbitrary way of spelling words. We might as well make all clothes alike and cook all dishes alike. Sameness is tiresome, variety is pleasing. I have a correspondent whose letters are always a refreshment to me; there is such a breezy, unfettered originality about his orthography. He always spells Kow with a large K. Now, that is just as good as to spell it with a small one. It is better. It gives the imagination a broader field, a wider scope. It suggests to the mind a grand, vague, impressive, new kind of cow. Superb effects can be produced by variegated spelling. Now, there is Blind Tom, the musical prodigy. He always spells a word according to the sound that is carried to his ear. And he is an enthusiast in orthography. When you give him a word he shouts it out—puts all his soul into it. I once heard him called upon to spell orang-outang before an audience. He said, 'O, r-a-n-g, orang, g-e-r, ger, oranger, t-a-n-g, tang, oranger tang!' Now, a body can respect an orang-outang that spells his name in a vigorous way like that. But the feeble dictionary makes a mere kitten of him. In the old times people spelled just as they pleased. That was the right idea. You had two chances at a stranger then. You knew a strong man from a weak one by his iron-clad spelling, and his handwriting helped you to verify your verdict. Some people have an idea that correct spelling can be taught, and taught to anybody. That is a mistake. The spelling faculty is born in man, like poetry, music and art. It is a gift; it is a talent. People who have this gift in a high degree need only to see a word once in print and it is forever photographed upon their memory. They cannot forget it. People who haven't it must be content to spell more or less like—like thunder—and expect to splinter the dictionary wherever their orthographical lightning happens to strike. There are 114,000 words in the unabridged dictionary. I know a lady who can spell only 180 of them right. She steers clear of all the rest. She can't learn any more. So her letters always consist of those constantly-recurring 180 words. Now and then, when she finds herself obliged to write upon a subject which necessitates the use of some

other words, she—well, she don't write on that subject. I have a relative in New York who is almost sublimely gifted. She can't spell any word right. There is a game called Verbarium. A dozen people are each provided with a sheet of paper, across the top of which is written a long word like kaleidoscopical, or something like that, and the game is to see who can make up the most words out of that in three minutes, always beginning with the initial letter of the word. Upon one occasion the word chosen was cofferdam. When time was called everybody had built from five to twenty words except this young lady. She only had one word—calf. We all studied a moment and then said: 'Why, there is no "l" in cofferdam!' Then we examined her paper. To the eternal honor of that uninspired, unconscious, sublimely independent soul be it said, she had spelled that word 'calf!' If anybody here can spell calf any more sensibly than that let him step to the front and take his milk. The insurrection will now begin."

BENTON BOYCOTTED POSTOFFICE

From the Richmond, *Weekly Mirror*, May 12, 1854.

Notice to my friends and constituents in St. Louis—For some time past I have sent nothing to my friends or constituents in St. Louis through the Post-Office in that city, and after the day of the publication of this notice, will receive nothing which shall be sent to me through that office.

My correspondence will go through the express line of Adams & Co., who generously offer to fetch and carry for me, gratis, and their office will be my Post-Office in that city.

THOS. H. BENTON.

Washington, April 22, 1854.

WAS THIS MISSOURI'S FIRST RAILROAD?

A letter written by V. M. Hobbs to the editor of the *Jefferson City, Missouri State Tribune*, January 24, 1903.

In a paper read before the State Historical Society at Columbia on the 22nd inst. by Mr. W. J. Thornton on "Early History of Railroads in Missouri," it is stated that the honor of the first railroad in Missouri belongs to a track five miles in length, laid from Richmond to a point on the Missouri river opposite Lexington, some time between 1849 and 1851. It was made entirely of timber, etc. I am of the opinion this is not correct. The first railroad constructed in this State, I am satisfied, was that road connecting Independence and Wayne City, built in 1848. It also approached more nearly our ideas of a railroad than the line referred to between Richmond and Lexington, as the latter was simply a tram-road, while the road from Independence to Wayne City was patterned after the early railroads of the East. The rails were flat bars of iron laid on wooden stringers, minus the numerous ties now observed on our railroads. The object of building this road from Independence to Wayne City was to

retain the Santa Fe trade and continue Independence as the outfitting point. I believe the engineer and also the builder of this road was a Mr. Sullivan, who it would appear was more of an architect than a civil engineer, as the chief mistake made by him was the erection of two handsome depots at the terminals of a four-mile road.

It is true that this was not much of a railroad, but as such lines in the early history of railroads are so styled, we have concluded that if honor is to be attached to these early enterprises, Independence is surely entitled to such honor.

MONEGAW—OSAGE CHIEFTAIN

From the *Kansas City Times*, January 29, 1930.

..... Once the country on both sides of the Osage river, in its winding course through St. Clair county above Osceola, was the home of the Osage Indians. Relics of their occupancy are found today on every hand.

But as civilization traveled westward the hunting grounds of the Indians became more and more desired by his pale face neighbor. Finally, it came time for the Osage tribe to move on, and without war or protest they exchanged their reservation along this now famous Osage river for one farther west.

Monegaw had ruled the tribe for years. He was not a warrior, but he was an upstanding giant, a leader of men who dominated because of his physical prowess, his great strength and his fairness as a ruler. Monegaw loved the happy hunting ground along the Osage river, so when the time came to depart he told his tribe:

"Go, but Monegaw will be your chief no longer. My hunting ground has been taken from me. My home on the Osage and the Sac is now in the hands of the white man. That which has been my home will now be my burial place. I will leave here to go only to that hunting ground in the skies."

Monegaw withdrew to a huge cave which stands upon a bluff overlooking the Osage at a point in St. Clair county lying between the Little Monegaw and the Big Monegaw. Here the cliffs are several hundred feet in height, and extend for miles along the north side of the Osage river. And here are many caves, but the largest one of all is the cave into which the Osage chieftain Monegaw withdrew.

And in this cave he remained. And there he died of starvation. A visit to this cave will reveal all the fanciful designs of the Indian artist who made his imprint upon the soft chalklike walls. Here are the figures of three braves all dressed up in their war bonnets and in single file. They were bound for somewhere on the war path. And here again are Indians portrayed after a crude fashion in swimming, leading ponies, others with drawn bows and arrows about ready to open fire on the enemy.

Monegaw's tomb is a cave which has been explored for nearly a mile in length, and has ceilings as high as forty feet in many places.

HISTORY OF CENTRALIA

From the Centralia, *Fireside Guard*, November 14, 1930.

..... The original village of Centralia was laid out in 1856 on ground patented by the United States Government to Nathaniel W. Wilson in 1854. This was three years before Centralia was founded. The original village was platted in 1857, just twenty-six years after the State of Missouri was admitted to the union. The land was then owned by Middleton G. Singleton and the site of the village was laid out because of the coming of the North Missouri railroad (now the Wabash). The place remained a village until 1867 when on February 10th it was incorporated. The incorporation was asked for by forty-five voters of the village, which comprised two-thirds of the population.

When it was decided to lay out the townsite on the new railroad, the land owners surrounding the new town were: Gerald B. Allen, Thomas T. January, Diedrich A. January, all of St. Louis; and Franklin B. Fullenweider, Robert S. Barr, David H. Hickman, James S. Rollins and Nathaniel W. Wilson, all of Columbia. These men all joined Col. Singleton in promoting the future great.

The first store was erected by J. W. Ball on the corner of Rollins and Railroad streets just opposite the new Wabash station and this was followed by the Collier House, a hotel, located on Barr street just west of the present Stone poultry house. The hotel was necessary to take care of passengers coming up and going to Columbia on the Centralia-Columbia stage coach line.

The town was incorporated as a city of the fourth class in 1887.

After the townsite was laid out Col. Singleton deeded the plot of ground 260 feet square for a park and this is now our pretty and shady city park. The land was barren of trees and only one little scrubby tree was in evidence and that was at the extreme southern edge of Centralia. All the trees in the park and the city were brought from the forest and set out by the early settlers.

Centralia figured in the Civil war when it was sacked and burned on September 27th, 1864, and non-combatant Union soldiers taken from a passenger train and killed. Then followed the battle of Centralia southeast of town on September 27th, with the raw Union soldiers. Only eight Union men escaped the carnage and 157 were killed. These soldiers were buried close to the railroad tracks, just a little northeast of the present high school building and the Government erected a granite shaft over the grave. The bodies and shaft were moved in the early 70's to Jefferson City and are now in the National Cemetery on High street.

The street running in front of the *Guard* office was named after Col. Singleton. The main business street after Gerald B. Allen; the first street west of Allen for David H. Hickman and the second west for Robert S. Barr; January street is next and then Fullenweider named after these men. The street running in front of the postoffice was named after

James S. Rollins. The street running west from the Chance plant was named after Nathaniel W. Wilson. The east end of this street is covered for half its length by the Chance factory. The Collier House was on Barr and Wilson streets with the railroad on the south and the street south of the right of way was named Railroad.

The name "Centralia" was selected because it was thought the new town was half way between St. Louis and Kansas City and thus the name.

The North Missouri Railroad was constructed in 1856 and was originally mapped to go north near Mexico to Macon and the northern states. Columbia men owning stock secured it for northern Boone or as near their city as was possible.

The Chicago & Alton Railroad came here in 1876.

LEGENDS OF BREADTRAY MOUNTAIN

Written by W. R. Draper in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of May 21, 1930.

Breadtray Mountain, about nine miles south of Reeds Spring, Missouri, one of the peaks of the Ozarks which abounds in legendary history, has been purchased in part by a public utility concern which plans to start construction of the Table Rock lake and dam this year. This company has bought about 10,000 acres in Stone and Taney counties, preparatory to damming the White river. A few days ago it closed a deal with the owners of portions of Breadtray mountain which will be inundated by the backwaters of Table Rock lake when it is finished.

Many legends and strange stories are told about this famous mountain and none is as interesting as the fact that in the cave under this mountain was hidden for years a large sum of money buried there by Wiley Matthews, a leader of the Bald Knobber gang. Matthews fled the country in 1889 after he escaped from jail at Ozark just before other members of his gang of killers were hanged.

Later he returned to Stone county and recovered the booty he had buried in this cave which runs back under Breadtray for several hundred feet and has numerous side rooms. When Table Rock lake is finished the cave will be flooded.

This same cave once was used as a place for making crude jewelry by the Chickshaw Indians who lived in this part of the country before the white men came. These Indians are said to have buried large sums of gold and silver in secret passages, and once, when pursued by enemies, they pried loose rock and blocked the opening.

Even before the Indians held sway in the White river country it was occupied by Spanish miners who built a fortress on top of the mountain and forced the Indians to work in their silver mines. Much of the silver was stored in this cave.

The story is told that after the Spanish miners had gotten all the wealth they wanted they decided to leave the country and take fifty Indian girls with them. But on the night before their departure a big feast was held and they proceeded to fill up on wine.

At a given signal the Indians fell upon them and killed all but three who made their way out of the country and told the story of the fate that befell their comrades. The Indians destroyed the fort on top of the Bread-tray mountain and all of the silver was buried beneath the ruins. Years later, when prospectors came to look for the buried treasure, they were attacked and killed by Indians left to guard the place.

Still an even more fanciful story is told of Breadtray mountain. Legend has it that on top of this mountain once lived a clan of Indians who were suffering from a series of mishaps, such as floods in the valley and drouths on the hill top. Crops were ruined and the Indians were on the verge of starvation.

Unexpectedly the clan received a visit from a beautiful Indian maiden of another clan who announced to the chief she had been sent by her mother to wed the eldest son of this aforesaid chief. She said if a wedding occurred between the two clans famine and pestilence would disappear.

So a great wedding took place and the two clans were united. The bride spoke to the Great Spirit and the corn bins were filled overnight by some magic; streams, which had been barren of fish, were once again swarming with the finny tribe; crops grew quickly.

But such power in the hands of a squaw did not set well with the son of the medicine chief. He was first jealous, then angry, and now he was insulting to the woman who brought his people out of dire straits.

So she left, telling him the Great Spirit would banish his clan from the face of Breadtray mountain, which is supposed to have happened.

And that is why nothing ever grows on top of this mountain today, according to local tradition.

"COON" THORNTON—GUERRILLA

Reprinted from the Wheeling (W. Va.) *Intelligencer*, July 26, 1864, by the Weston *Border Times*, August 12, 1864.

The Thornton who figures so conspicuously just now in the dispatches as a guerrilla chief in upper Missouri, is personally known to a good many people in this vicinity. He graduated at Bethany College in 1853, and he was then, as he is now, a sort of fire-eating guerrilla, or rather gorilla, we should say, for he was a gawky, ungainly, long armed and long-legged affair, a good deal like a gorilla. He is a brother-in-law of the noted Col. Doniphan, of Missouri, who figured conspicuously in the Chihuahua expedition during the Mexican war. He was known at Bethany as he is now in the newspapers, by the name of "Coon" Thornton, and was regarded as an eccentric desperado, his chief delight apparently being to wear tall boot legs outside of his pants, with a bowie knife stuck inside, and to use the biggest and oddest words he could glean from the dictionary. He was a quiet, moody, pale-faced fellow, who drank a good deal of whisky at times and had very few companions. He was a tolerable sort of student and not without intellectual ambition.

SHERWOOD—A GHOST TOWN

From the *Kansas City Times*, July 4, 1930.

A newly surveyed farm-to-market highway, running from Carl Junction into Bell Center, and thence to Joplin, not only opens a lot of ancient mining fields, but it goes past the site of old Sherwood, or Rural, one of the ghost towns of Jasper county. The history of this Civil war community is not without its pages of vivid action.

Sherwood was burned by the federal troops in May, 1863. Before that it had been the third largest town in Jasper county, and here Judge Andrew McKee, who had come up from Tennessee with 200 followers, had established a pork packing industry that had grown rapidly and promised much.

Established in 1846, but not officially platted until ten years later, old Sherwood thrived under the business genius of the southern judge. In 1861, at the beginning of the Civil war, it was only exceeded in size by Carthage and Sarcxie. Joplin was then unknown. Carthage had only 500 population, and Sherwood was half as big. But it had rosy plans for the future.

In the Southland Judge McKee had been a hog raiser of importance. The Ozarks seemed to the judge an ideal place for hog raising. He offered \$1.50 each for hogs of any size or age, and encouraged the natives to raise porkers and turn them loose in the timber. And the hogs did thrive unseemingly.

In a year or two after Judge McKee got his southern colonists interested in hog raising, the woods were literally filled with hogs and he then started his slaughter house and shipping program. He employed large forces of men in the fall, the hogs were killed and packed in salt and loaded on boats. These boats were floated down Center creek to Spring river, thence into Grand and the Arkansas river and to Fort Smith, where cargoes of pork were sold and the money came back to Sherwood for more Ozark hogs.

In a few years Sherwood was a pork raising and shipping point of considerable interest, and had not the Civil war occurred it might have developed into an industry of importance. But Judge McKee died in 1858. Three years later came the war and then Colonel Williams came over from Baxter Springs with 200 Federal soldiers and burned Sherwood to the ground.

Prior to that time Sherwood had been a southern nest in a community sympathetic with the North. Major Livingston, in command of the southern soldiers, had hidden in Sherwood and killed a company of negro soldiers recruited in Jasper county, captured a wagon train of ammunition, and stolen thirty mules and six army wagons.

That was why the town was set afire. The southern people, who made up Sherwood's citizens, fled to Texas, but returned after the war

and made an attempt to reestablish Sherwood under the name of Rural and start again the pork packing and shipping industry.

In 1856 and up to the beginning of the Civil war, Sherwood was the busiest town in Jasper county. Judge McKee had been appointed an agent for five tribes of Indians living in Kansas and Oklahoma. He erected a huge brick store building, stocked it with groceries and traded with the redskins. Often a thousand Indians were camped on the creek banks around the town.

But once a promising town, today it is only a cornfield. Even the grave of Judge McKee cannot be found, although once it was the scene of the greatest outdoor Masonic funeral ever held up to then in Southwest Missouri.

THE LAMINE RIVER COUNTRY

A letter to the editor of the Boonville Weekly *Eagle*, Aug. 10, 1877.

I saw in the *Eagle* of the 13th ult. a letter from Arrow Rock, speaking of the old diggings on the LaMine river.

In the year 1821, two men, Samuel and Nathan Young, then living in what is now called LaMine township, induced me to go with them to look at the old diggings on Blackwater, the principal fork of the LaMine river, in what is now Saline county.

On the hills on the south side of Blackwater we found excavations which had been made many years previous. We saw the remains of two furnaces where there must have been considerable smelting done. S. Young picked up some of the slag from which, he said, he got a white metal that differed from silver.

The Osage Indians had a traditionary story that in years long ago, a band of men, not pale faces like those from the north, were all killed, and that they had great wealth, which they had "cached" out south from where they got it.

A Pioneer.

ANOTHER LETTER (Ibid. Sept. 14)

I see in your issue of Aug. 31st. another inquiry of "X" in regard to the old diggings on the LaMine river. LaMine river, in English, means, "The river of mines." Apart from the ancient diggings, there is a bank of iron ore a short distance from the mouth of Blackwater, that Mr. Robert Wallace worked at about the year 1842. He told me that he dug about 30 feet through one of the richest deposits of iron ore to be found in the country, and where Mr. Collins is now getting lead abundantly, there had been excavations made apparently one hundred years ago, and the probability is that lead was not what they were looking for. One reason of the iron ore being so valuable is the abundance of coal in the neighborhood of the mines. And apart from the minerals of that region, there is probably not on the globe such a tract of land as that drained by the LaMine. Most of Cooper and Saline, a large part of Morgan, all of Pettis and Johnson, and a large part of Lafayette counties, are all drained by the LaMine river.

A Pioneer.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF MILLER COUNTY

Written by Gerard Schultz, in the Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram*, August 28, 1930.

The streams, towns, and civil divisions of Miller county bear names of Indian, French, Spanish and American origin. The Osage river, the most important stream in the county derived its name from the Great and Little Osage Indians. The meaning of the word "Osage" is obscure, but it has been translated as "campers on the mountains" or "the strong." The latter meaning is especially significant as the Osage Indians were noted for their physical strength. The Osages were said to have been the tallest race of men in North America, few being under six feet and many being seven feet tall. These Indians were the first historic inhabitants of the Osage river region in Missouri.

The names of all the larger creeks are of French origin. French explorers, traders, and trappers were the first white men to come to what is now Miller county. Passing up and down the Osage, they gave names to Tavern, Saline, Little Gravois, and Grand Auglaize creeks. The Tavern, the largest tributary of the Osage in the county, was originally known as "Caverne" creek, so called by some early Frenchmen for the large cave at the mouth of the creek. Saline and Gravois are French terms pertaining to salt and gravel, respectively. Auglaize is a French phrase meaning "at the clay" or "at the loam."

As permanent settlements did not begin in this county until two decades after Louisiana Territory had been purchased from France by the United States, most of the place-names are of American origin, two exceptions being Tuscumbia and Iberia. Tuscumbia is derived from "Tash-kambi," a Cherokee Indian word meaning "The warrior who kills." Iberia is the ancient name for Spain. Spring Garden, the site of the first store in what is now Miller county, was named by William Miller and William P. Dixon for a place of that name in the southern part of Virginia. Olean was laid off by H. S. Burlingame and James Proctor in the winter of 1881-82, when the Missouri Pacific railroad was built through there. It was first called Proctor Station in honor of J. G. Proctor, but the post-office was Cove on account of another Proctor, Missouri. As this proved unsatisfactory, it was named Olean for a town of the same name in New York. Although the townsite of Eldon was not laid out until the spring of 1883, it now ranks as a city. Eldon probably took its name from a place of that name in Iowa. It was started by G. R. Weeks, T. J. Hart, Samuel Newton, and Minor Allen, who purchased forty acres of land and had it surveyed into town lots. Lakeside owes its existence to Osage Dam, a huge hydro-electric dam now in the process of construction. This dam will create the largest body of water between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. The Lake has been named "The Lake of the Ozarks."

A number of individuals were honored with geographical names, such as Bagnell, Etterville, Ulman, and Brumley. The last mentioned

place was named in honor of William Carroll Brumley, a prominent figure in Miller county politics after the Civil war. The town of Brumley was laid out by J. M. Hawkins in 1877. Bagnell was named for William Bagnell, who was in the railroad tie industry along the Osage river. At one time more ties were shipped at Bagnell than at any other point in Missouri. St. Elizabeth is almost better known as Charleytown. It was given the latter name in honor of Charley Holtschneider of Westphalia, Osage county, who donated the land for the large and beautiful Catholic church erected there.

Miller county was created by an act of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, February 6, 1837. It was named in honor of John Miller, the fourth governor of Missouri. May 1, 1837, the county court opened its first session in the log house of William Miller, located near the mouth of Saline creek. On the following day, the court divided the county into four civil townships. These were Saline, Osage, Richwoods, and Equality. The present-day townships of Jim Henry, Glaze, and Franklin were formed later. Saline township was named for the creek which heads in it. Glaze is an abbreviation of Auglaize. Jim Henry township bears the name of an Indian who lived in a cave in the western part of the township. Osage township was named for the river which forms part of its northern boundary. Richwoods township was so named because the growth of timber was much larger in it than in much of the surrounding country.

LOVERS' LEAP, ON THE NIANGUA

Written by Elmo Scott Watson for the Western Newspaper Union, and printed in the *New Franklin News*, August 29, 1930.

Have you a "Lovers' Leap" in your locality? If you haven't, then it's unique. . . . But if you want the story of a Lovers' Leap with a wealth of detail, go to Linn Creek, Mo., where there has been handed down from pioneer days this tale of Lovers' Leap above the clear water of the Niangua river before it flows into the murky Osage:

"A century ago the mighty Osage and Shawnee tribes dwelt along these streams. They were fighting enemies, and bones of the big-framed giants, war clubs of stone, rusted arrow-heads of crudely fashioned metal and other signs of struggle have been found for years by plowboys as they turned over the rich alluvial soil along the river bottoms.

"Grey Eagle was then a medicine man of the Shawnees; his daughter was Laughing Water. A young warrior of the Osage tribe came up the racing waters of the Niangua in his canoe on a pleasant day, and stopped before the birch bark tepee of Grey Eagle. The head of the young warrior flaunted his eagle feathers; a deerskin shirt and leggings, and buckskin moccasins encased the form of this young giant. Tails of wild animals hung from a wampum belt and a bow and arrow swung across his broad shoulders. These intimate details have been carefully preserved in connection with the world-old story of 'love at first sight.'

"Laughing Water rose gracefully to welcome him, but she reckoned without her haughty father, to whom the sight of an Osage was poison ivy. But none the less, Laughing Water had a mind of her own, as daughters of a tribal chieftain should have, and she encouraged the shots from the love arrow of the Osage warrior.

"Day by day the young couple roamed the forest or floated on the silvery waters of the Niangua, Laughing Water sang like birds in tree tops, or laughed till the forest rang with melody as her lover related his stories of wonderful adventure. Then as now, lovers it would seem were prone to spread a glamour around their past.

"The Osage warrior came to friendly terms with the Shawnee braves, as their bitter jealousies vanished before evidences of his skill as a fisherman and hunter and prowess as a warrior. They took him into their council, but old Grey Eagle would not mix medicine potions that would enable him to become a son-in-law.

"Courtship of this pair lasted during the summer, and every means of winning the father's consent proved unavailing. Laughing Water was urged to flee the tribal domain and become one of the Osage people. But her Shawnee blood would not permit, so the young couple decided since they could not live together they would die together. Thus united in the land of the great silence their love would be unhindered by the wishes of a medicine chief.

"Face to face and hand to hand the Indian lovers plighted their everlasting troth, sought a high bluff on the river beneath which the waters formed a great swirling eddy, cast themselves far into the channel and no trace of them was ever discovered."

